

'BIGGER THINGS' MAY BE COMING

NATO Strikes Again at Defiant Serbs

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — NATO warplanes struck Bosnian Serb positions near Gorazde for the second time in less than 24 hours on Monday, and a spokesman warned that "bigger things are coming" if the offensive against the Muslim enclave does not stop.

It was not immediately clear how the Bosnian Serb army had reacted to the new NATO attack. United Nations military sources in Sarajevo said Serbian artillery, tank and machine-gun fire into Gorazde abated 90 minutes after NATO jets struck.

Admiral Leighton Smith, commander of NATO Allied Forces Southern Europe, told CNN: "The information we're receiving is the area is currently quiet, and we hope it stays that way."

But other officials said the air raid had apparently had no effect. A spokeswoman of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Belgrade, Lyndall Sachs, said Bosnian Serbs shelled Gorazde again after the air strike on Monday.

The Bosnian Serb leadership threatened to strike back militarily for the NATO air strikes, and Serbian radio and television broadcasts all day denied witness reports by United Nations military observers that Serbian tanks and howitzers were shelling Gorazde.

"The peace process is in danger and full responsibility lies with the United Nations," said a statement by the Bosnian Serb leadership. "The Serbs will not be intimidated and will retain the right to self-defense using all available means."

The Serbs suspended contacts with the UN Protection Force. Their leader, Radovan Karadzic, called off a meeting planned for Monday with a special U.S. envoy, Charles E. Redman. Bosnian Serb authorities also blocked traffic in and out of Sarajevo.

In an interview on Bosnian Serb television, Mr. Karadzic said: "Our goal is military defeat of the Muslims."

He said: "This is a critical moment in our relations with Unprofor," the UN peacekeeping force. Referring to the UN force's commander, Sir Michael Rose, a lieutenant general, he added that ever since General Rose arrived there had been "several crises," but that the UN force had shown him "who is the boss in the house."

Mr. Karadzic also predicted unspecified "restrictions" for UN peacekeepers. He said: "I am convinced that there will be escalations. If it comes to escalation, we can shoot down planes."

In the air attack Monday, two U.S. F-16s used bombs and 20mm cannons fire to destroy at least three Bosnian Serb armored personnel carriers and a truck near Gorazde, the Pentagon said.

Lieutenant General John Sheehan of the Marines, director of operations for the U.S. military's joint staff, said the jets attacked both Serbian T-55 tanks and armored personnel carriers with 20mm cannons and MK-82 bombs. But General Sheehan and another senior officer said they doubted the tanks were hit because bad weather hindered the attack.

"Three armored personnel carriers were destroyed and an additional truck in that column was hit," said Admiral Mike Cramer, director of intelligence for the joint staff.

Admiral Cramer said Sunday's bombing attack by U.S. F-16s destroyed a large tent and several vehicles at a Serbian military command post. He said the pilots wanted to attack tanks but switched to the command post because of bad weather. That air strike was the alliance's first attack on ground positions in its 45-year history.

The air raids drew an angry response from Russia and Bosnian Serb officials, but NATO's secretary-general, Manfred Wörner, threatened new action if Serbs tried to retaliate against UN peacekeepers.

Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher and the UN special envoy for the former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, who had authorized the previous two NATO air strikes, said NATO was prepared to launch further raids against Serbian forces if need be.

Mr. Karadzic accused the UN of siding with Bosnian Muslims. "Obviously the United Nations have positioned themselves on the Muslim side," he said.

"This is a very crucial moment, and we do not know how we can possibly cooperate further with Unprofor while they are one-sided in this civil war," Mr. Karadzic told reporters after meeting a Russian envoy, Vitali I. Churkin, in Pale near Sarajevo.

UN military sources dismissed reports that there was continued indiscriminate shelling of Gorazde, saying they were issued before or immediately after the raid.

A source close to General Rose said: "It is now calm, with sporadic shelling well outside the city."

"The Serbs have effectively ceased firing on the city," the source said.

But the high commissioner's spokeswoman in Belgrade reported "indiscriminate shelling" of the town. She said a shell landed close to the high commissioner's offices in Gorazde, blowing out all the windows. There were no casualties.

Quoting relief workers on the ground, she also reported heavy infantry combat under way at a hilltop near the city center.

A representative of Doctors Without Borders in Gorazde, Olivier van Bommen, and a Gorazde official, Esad Ocranovic, reported to Sarajevo by ham radio that Serbian attacks stepped up after the air raid.

"The city is literally burning," Mr. Ocranovic said.

Officially, air attacks Sunday and Monday were made to protect UN personnel in Gorazde, an eastern Bosnian town that has been under siege for almost two years.

But they seemed aimed at halting a new 12-day assault on Gorazde that has claimed at least 156 dead and 646 wounded in the last 12 days and pushing the Serbs toward negotiating a settlement to the Bosnian war.

A NATO officer said General Rose had sent a letter to General Manojlo Milovanovic, the Serbian chief of staff, warning him that "bigger things are coming" from NATO if the attack on Gorazde continued.

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Rebel Force In Rwanda Closing In On Capital

KIGALI, Rwanda — Rebel guerrillas reportedly were closing in on the Rwandan capital from three sides Monday, and claiming that resistance from government forces was fast disintegrating.

French officials said Monday night that the rebel vanguard was on the outskirts of Kigali.

"Our forces are advancing," the head of the rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front, Alexis Kanyarengwe, said in rebel-held territory. "Government soldiers do not have the will to put up resistance."

The arrival of the rebel force estimated at 20,000 could touch off a fresh round of fighting in the capital, where ethnic violence has left tens of thousands of dead in the last few days.

Mr. Kanyarengwe said the rebels would set up a new government, re-establish law and order, and bring to justice those responsible for the mass slaughter.

A French military commander in Kigali advised reporters to leave the city on Monday because "this place is going to get dangerous."

The rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front is dominated by members of the minority Tutsi tribe, who were the principal victims in the fighting that followed the apparent shooting down last Wednesday of the airplane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and neighboring Burundi, both of whom were killed.

Both men were members of the Hutu tribe, which rules landlocked Rwanda, Africa's most populous nation. News of their deaths touched off an orgy of bloodletting against Tutsis, who were the overlords when Rwanda was a Belgian trusteeship.

Because of the past association between Belgium and the Tutsis, Belgians were in particular danger from armed Hutu gangs, who raged through Kigali with guns, knives, machetes and clubs, slaying even an estimated 100 patients in a French-run hospital.

The number of dead was impossible to establish immediately, but relief agency officials estimated that 10,000 people were killed in Kigali alone and as many again in the rest of the country. Many of the bodies still lay in the streets.

Those killed included the prime minister and several cabinet ministers, all Tutsis, as well as African nuns, priests and aid workers, and 10 Belgian UN soldiers and at least six Belgian civilians. The Belgian soldiers were killed when they tried to prevent the slaying of Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana.

Spanish missionary nuns in the western town of Kibuye said guerrillas believed to be Hutus had attacked the town. They were "killing all over the place," one nun said.

She added that the gangs were attacking the parish church where terrified Tutsis had taken refuge and had also slaughtered refugees in the town hall. Many Tutsis sought safety with UN contingents sent last year to oversee a shaky peace between the two tribes.

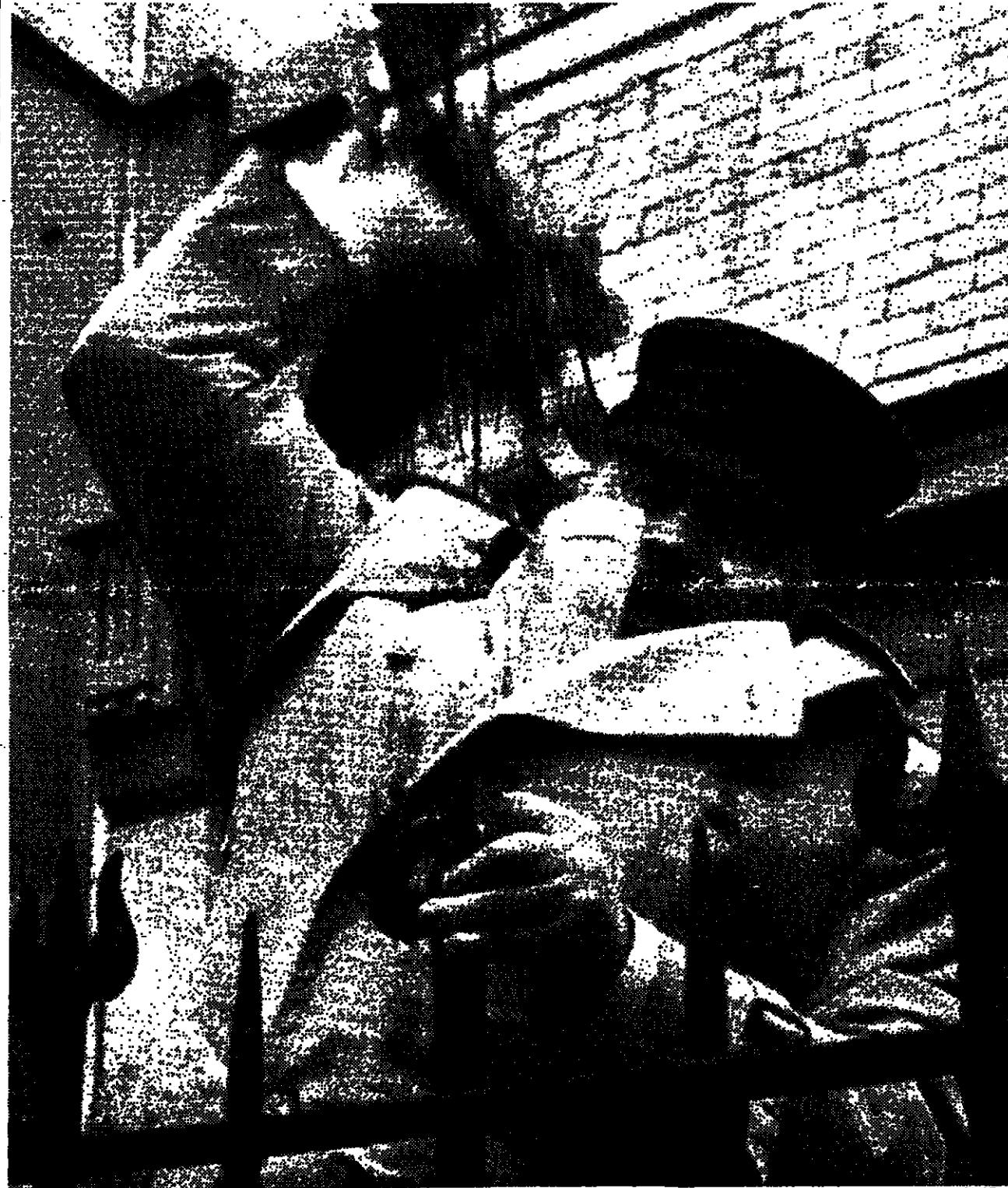
In Paris, a Foreign Ministry spokesman, Richard Dugue, said most of the more than 600 French civilians in Rwanda had left the country, but that French troops were remaining to assist in the evacuation of others. "The mission of our military is strictly humanitarian," said Mr. Dugue, adding that French troops would not intervene in the fighting.

Belgium flew 400 paratroopers into Kigali on Sunday as part of an international effort to evacuate expatriates. U.S. Marines flew to Rwanda to assist in the evacuation of Americans.

After Tutsi forces invaded Rwanda from Uganda in 1990, French troops supported the government in Kigali until their role was taken over by the United Nations. Belgium has followed a policy of neutrality between the warring tribes, which the Hutus have interpreted as hostility.

Prime Minister Wilfried Martens of Belgium

See RWANDA, Page 2



'TH BREAK YOUR HEADS' — Vladimir V. Zhirinovskiy throwing potted flowers Monday at Jewish protesters outside the Russian Consulate in Strasbourg. The ultranationalist had earlier addressed the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

Israeli Pullout Deadline Won't Be Met

By Chris Hedges
New York Times Service

CAIRO — Palestinian officials conceded for the first time on Monday that they would not meet the April 13 deadline for Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho as stipulated in the peace accord signed in Washington in September.

But the chief Palestinian negotiator, Nabil Shaath, said he believed that an agreement could be reached by the end of April, as proposed Monday by Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel.

"If Mr. Peres says he is willing to respect the new target date, the date at the end of the month, fine with us," he said, adding that it was now impossible to reach an agreement by Wednesday.

The peace accord set out a four-month withdrawal period for the Israelis from Gaza and Jericho that was to have started on Dec. 13. By April 13, the Palestinians were scheduled to take limited self-rule over the two enclaves. The final status of Jericho and Gaza is scheduled to be determined over a three-year interim period.

The withdrawal, however, was delayed when Palestinian and Israeli negotiators were unable to agree on security arrangements. Negotiations were then suspended for a month by the Palestine Liberation Organization after the massacre on Feb. 25 of at least 29 Palestinian worshippers by a Jewish settler in a mosque in the West Bank town of Hebron.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin placed the responsibility for the delay on the Palestinians. "We didn't suspend the agreement in the wake of Palestinian terrorism against us," Mr. Rabin told Israeli radio. Speaking of Yasser Arafat, the PLO chairman, Mr. Rabin said: "He suspended the negotiations after the massacre in Hebron, and therefore the responsibility for the loss of time is not on us."

Mr. Peres, speaking in Ankara, said he expected the agreement to be signed by the end of April. "As I understand, we have agreed that the target date will be the end of this month, April," he said, "and then I think there won't be needed much time to implement the agreement."

But Mr. Rabin, in an interview to be published Tuesday in The Jerusalem Post, was more cautious.

"There is movement," he said. "We cannot put a date when the agreement will be reached. But, if everything will go well I believe by See ISRAEL, Page 5

U.S. Experts Cite Major Leap in Cancer Research

By Boyce Rensberger
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Scientists have discovered what they say may be the single most critical event that makes all cancer cells effectively immortal and allows them to multiply indefinitely. And they say this knowledge could lead fairly quickly to an entirely new form of cancer treatment that could be effective against many or perhaps all forms of the disease.

The crucial event is that highly malignant cancer cells somehow reactivate a long-dormant gene and make an enzyme that reverses a normal process of aging within the cell. Thus cancer cells can keep on multiplying indefinitely, even as normal cells, whose gene for the enzyme stays dormant, grow old and break down.

The researchers, who are to publish their findings in the latest issue of the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, said Monday that they might be just two years away from starting tests of a drug that could block the enzyme in human cancer patients. If the hypothetical treatment worked, cancer cells would, theoretically, lose the benefit of their special enzyme, age quickly and die.

Although the findings are just emerging from the realm of basic science — not even animals have been tested — leaders in biomedical research hailed them as major advances.

"We're quite optimistic that this is a unique opportunity for inhibiting the growth of cancer cells," said Huber Warner, an official of the National Institute on Aging, one of the National Institutes of Health that sponsored the research. "The immediate importance and most exciting aspect of this work is the possibility of targeting cancer cells specifically in treatment" without harming normal cells, many of which are killed in conventional chemotherapy.

A drug that blocked the enzyme should, theoretically, pose no risk to normal cells because they do not make the enzyme in the first place. There is, however, one exception: gonadal cells that make sperm and eggs. They make and use the enzyme because they must be effectively immortal to transmit life to a new generation. A drug that blocked the enzyme might damage these cells and perhaps cause sterility or birth defects.

The new research was led by Calvin B. Harley at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario. Dr. Harley is temporarily on leave from McMaster and working at GenCorp, a biotech concern in Menlo Park, California, that is looking for an enzyme-blocking drug.

What Dr. Harley and colleagues found was the first direct proof that human cancer cells make an enzyme called telomerase and that normal human cells do not. Cell and molecular

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U.S. Aide Says Peace Bid Has 'Totally Disappeared'

By Paul F. Horvitz
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — A serious diplomatic effort to end the fighting in Bosnia has "totally disappeared" with the Serbian attacks and United Nations counterattacks in the city of Gorazde, Washington's special Bosnia negotiator said Monday.

Despite calls by President Bill Clinton and other Western leaders for a resumption of negotiations, the foundations for those talks on a cease-fire for all of Bosnia have been seriously undermined.

The United States and its allies were clearly seeking to exact a price from the Serbian military for its advance on Gorazde but it was unclear whether or when the calculated use of NATO force would bring the Serbs back to the bargaining table.

"It's a bit difficult to move forward under these circumstances," the U.S. negotiator, Charles E. Redman, said in an interview televised from Sarajevo.

Until as late as midday on Sunday, Mr. Redman said, "it seemed we had really almost an unprecedented event here in Bosnia, with both sides talking seriously of a total cessation of hostilities, not just in Gorazde but throughout the country."

He added, "That, of course, has totally disappeared now. We hope it may come back again, but still, the Gorazde situation has to be resolved first."

Russia's pique at not being informed in advance of Sunday's bombing runs by North Atlantic Treaty Organization aircraft appears to further complicate the diplomatic landscape. Moscow's envoys had been working closely

with the Serbs, their historical allies, on a range of cease-fire issues. The Russian envoy, Vitali I. Churkin, was asked Monday by President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia to act as peace mediator and help arrange a general cease-fire.

Mr. Clinton said Monday that NATO air strikes, requested by UN commanders in response to sustained Serbian shelling, were "entirely appropriate" to protect UN observers inside Gorazde. The mostly Muslim city in eastern Bosnia had been designated a "safe area" by the United Nations.

The president again called for a resumption of talks and said he had called the Russian president, Boris N. Yeltsin, to explain that no new policy was being pursued by Washington.

Mr. Redman said that a "very difficult situation" in Gorazde will have to be resolved before diplomacy can resume. He said the population of Gorazde was "at great danger" and that UN military observers there were also at risk from Serbian artillery and troop advances.

Before diplomacy resumes, he said, a cease-fire will have to be negotiated in Gorazde, UN forces will have to be inserted and Bosnian Serbian troops will have to withdraw from the city.

Mr. Clinton, in comments Sunday, raised the possibility that rogue Serbian commanders had launched the attacks on Gorazde.

In impromptu remarks at the White House on Monday, he said the UN was requesting air strikes to protect its personnel and "reassert Gorazde as a safe area."

He again sketched a narrow policy role for the United States, that of providing "close air support" for UN personnel at the request of UN commanders and through the command structure of NATO.

Yeltsin, Miffed, Demands Role in Bosnia Decisions

By Celestine Bohlen
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — President Boris N. Yeltsin complained bitterly Monday that Moscow had not been consulted in advance as NATO bombers prepared for the first air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions outside the besieged city of Gorazde.

Mr. Yeltsin, speaking with reporters as he left for a trip to Spain, said he had registered his objections in a telephone conversation on Monday with President Bill Clinton.

"I insisted to Clinton time and again that such decisions cannot be taken without prior consultation between the United States and Russia," Mr. Yeltsin said. "They cannot be. And we shall insist on this."

Both Mr. Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozhevnikov have lately adopted an increasingly assertive tone as they insist on Russia's role as an equal player in international crises, from the former Yugoslavia to the Middle East.

In its official reaction to the bombing at Gorazde, Moscow seemed more perturbed by decisions on the use of force than by the shelling itself. A statement issued by the Russian Foreign Ministry said the order to bomb had been authorized by a resolution of the United Nations Security Council that provided for the use of air strikes to protect United Nations-guaranteed safe havens like Gorazde.

"These violations cannot be tolerated," said the statement, which added that Muslim forces had also resorted to "provocations," which it said were well known to UN officials.

The statement called for the urgent dispatch of UN troops to the Gorazde area, for the withdrawal of Serbian forces and for the disarming of the local Muslim contingent.

Bound by historical and cultural ties to Serbia, Russia has tried in recent months to play a balancing role in Bosnia, using its influence with both Belgrade and the Bosnian Serbs to fend off a show of force by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries. In February, Moscow launched a successful last-minute diplomatic initiative that averted an earlier threat

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Kiosk

Free Democrats To Support Kohl

BONN (Reuters) — The liberal Free Democrats issued a long-awaited pledge on Monday to continue their quarrelsome partnership with Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats after the national elections in October.

The party leader, Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, said the party presidium had voted unanimously to campaign for a fourth term as junior cabinet partners. "The coalition has proven its worth in difficult times," he said. The pledge must still be approved by a party convention.

Book Review Page 3

Dow Jones	Up 14.57	3,698.93
Trib Index	Up 1.00%	111.52
New York	1.713	1.7125
DM	1.4705	1.4768
Pound	103.45	105.255
Yen	5.8648	5.8655

Newsstand Prices

Andorra.....9.00 FF	Luxembourg 60 L.	Fr
Antilles.....11.20 FF	Morocco.....12 Dh	
Armenia.....1.400 CFA	Qatar.....8.00 Rials	
Cameron.....9.00 FF	Réunion.....11.20 FF	
Egypt.....E.P. 5000	Saudi Arabia.....9.00 R.	
Gabon.....960 CFA	Senegal.....960 CFA	
Greece.....300 Dr.	Spain.....1,000 Din	
Ivory Coast.....1.120 CFA	Turkey.....T.L. 15,000	
Jordan.....1 JD	U.A.E.....8.50 Dirh	
Lebanon.....US\$ 1.50	U.S. Mil. (Eur.) \$1.10	

Ex-Stasi Officer Gets 4 Years for '83 Berlin Bombing

By Stephen Kinzer
New York Times Service

BERLIN — A former officer in the East German secret police was sentenced on Monday to four years in prison for his role in the fatal 1983 bombing of a French cultural center in West Berlin.

The judge also strongly criticized Syria for protecting the terrorist who is believed to have planned and directed the attack.

Evidence presented at the trial suggested that the secret police officer, Helmut Voigt, gave explosives to a Syrian diplomat, Nabil Charitah, who was posted in East Berlin at the time of the bombing and who is now under the protection of German police. He testified that his superiors in Damascus had sent him to East Berlin with instructions to give all possible assistance to members of the Carlos group.

Mr. Charitah said he had been in regular touch with Johannes Weirich, a German national who is a senior aide to Carlos and who now lives in Syria. He said Mr. Weirich, whose extradition from Syria the German government has been seeking for years, brought 24 kilograms (53 pounds) of explosives to East Berlin for use in the bombing of the Maison de France.

According to Monday's verdict, the Stasi discovered and confiscated the explosive material, storing it in a depot controlled by Mr. Voigt. After ascertaining that the material was to be used in a bombing planned by Carlos, Mr. Voigt passed it on to the Syrian Embassy, which was Carlos's base in East Germany.

Mr. Voigt, 51, was extradited from Greece last year. He denied the charges against him.

The key witness at Mr. Voigt's trial was a former Syrian diplomat, Nabil Charitah, who was posted in East Berlin at the time of the bombing and who is now under the protection of German police. He testified that his superiors in Damascus had sent him to East Berlin with instructions to give all possible assistance to members of the Carlos group.

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Mr. Charitah, then a third secretary at the embassy, accepted the material and then gave it back to Mr. Weirich. Soon afterward, the Maison de France was bombed, killing one person and injuring 23.

Carlos claimed responsibility for the bombing in a letter sent to the West German Embassy in Saudi Arabia. At the time he was seeking to pressure France into releasing two of his imprisoned associates.

A former East German head of state, Egon Krenz, asserted at the trial that East Germany "was not a terrorist state" and had never supported Carlos. Judge Wolfgang Hüller rejected that claim, saying there was ample evidence showing that the Stasi worked closely with Carlos and his group because they considered themselves "comrades in the struggle against imperialism and the class enemy."

In his verdict, Judge Hüller said Mr. Voigt had "at the very least passed along an order" allowing release of the explosives to people he knew as terrorists. Judge Hüller also asserted that Mr. Weirich was

"clearly the mastermind and primary perpetrator of the attack."

"This murderer is being protected by Syria and is able to move around Damascus freely and undisturbed," the judge said. "It is a scandal that Weirich is being protected by Syria. The time has passed for political caution and diplomatic discussions over tea in this matter."

Judge Hüller stayed the execution of sentence pending appeals. He said it was unlikely that Mr. Voigt would flee since he had been given credit for time in Greek and German jails while he was being investigated and had only two years and seven months left to serve.

During a visit to Bonn last month, Foreign Minister Farkus Shara expressed concern that a guilty verdict in the Maison de France case could hurt relations between Germany and Syria. But his host, Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, said he could not intervene because the case was "exclusively a matter for the judicial branch."



AT MITTERRAND AIDE'S FUNERAL — Attending the funeral Monday in Moulins of François de Grossouvre, a senior aide to President François Mitterrand who killed himself April 7 in the Elysée Palace, are, from left, Amin Gemayel, former president of Lebanon, Mrs. de Grossouvre, and her son. Mr. de Grossouvre was regarded as an influential backstage figure in French politics.

Neo-Nazis Reportedly Load Internet With Propaganda

BONN — German television reported Monday that large quantities of neo-Nazi literature denying that the Holocaust ever happened had been filed into Internet, the world's largest computer network.

Stüdwitz, part of the ARD public network, said propaganda from German, Austrian and American neo-Nazis had been loaded into Internet in recent weeks.

Internet is a U.S.-based computer information network that allows users to consult data bases, store information and send electronic mail.

German neo-Nazis, barred by law from openly selling books denying the Nazi campaign of genocide against the Jews, have been using local computer networks to spread their literature, advertise protests and swap racist computer games, police say.

Stüdwitz said one of the works filed was the so-called "Leuchter Report," a book by American Fred Leuchter, an apologist for the Nazis, claiming that the Auschwitz concentration camp had no gas chambers and that no Nazi war crimes ever took place there.

Russia and Ukraine Spar at Navy Base

By Lee Hockstader
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — In a sharp escalation of tension between two nuclear-armed countries, Russia said Monday that Ukrainian special forces had stormed a Russian-controlled naval base, arresting three officers and wounding sailors and civilians.

Ukrainian officials offered a sharply different version of the incident, which took place in the Ukrainian port of Odessa late Sunday. They portrayed it as a nonviolent police action aimed only at arresting the three officers who they said ordered the departure on Friday of a Russian naval research ship from Odessa in defiance of Ukrainian wishes.

Despite the varying accounts, it seemed clear that the episode marked a milestone in the steadily worsening relationship between Moscow and Kiev, which have quarreled for more than two years over who should inherit the former Soviet Black Sea Fleet.

The Ukrainian action was apparently in retaliation for the departure of the Russian naval research ship Cheleken from Odessa on Friday. The Ukrainians said the Cheleken, loaded with \$10 million in navigational and marine equipment, was not authorized to leave and did so despite direct orders from Ukrainian authorities in Odessa.

When the Ukrainians tried to prevent the Cheleken's departure, they were thwarted by Russian sailors who were ordered to take up arms and prepare for hostilities, according to the Ukraine Defense Ministry. The ministry termed the Cheleken's departure as an act of piracy.

As the Cheleken sailed toward the Black Sea Fleet home base of Sevastopol, it was pursued most of Saturday by Ukrainian naval ships, which tried to intercept it, Russian officials said. The pursuers were finally chased off by an attack group of Russian-controlled Black Sea Fleet ships, and the Cheleken docked safely in Sevastopol late Saturday afternoon, they said.

The response from the Ukrainians came just over 24 hours later. According to Russian military officials, about 120 Ukrainian special forces troops assaulted a base of the 218th Russian Division Sunday in Odessa, which was home to a small reserve unit of the Black Sea Fleet.

The three top Russian officers at the base, including one first-rank captain and two second-rank captains, were arrested and led away in handcuffs, the officials said. In the action, the Russian officials said, sailors and their families, including children, were roughed up, beaten and injured by flying shards of glass.

A statement issued by the Ukrainian Defense Ministry insisted that there had been no assault, no injuries and no mistreatment of sailors or civilians at the base. The ministry confirmed, however, that the Ukrainian troops had surrounded one installation full of Russian troops in order to "prevent unauthorized actions."

But Mr. Roussin conceded that about 10 members of the family of the late Rwandan president, Juvenal Habyarimana, who was killed last Wednesday in a plane crash, had been flown out of the country aboard French aircraft.

On Saturday, the Rwandan Patriotic Front said in a statement from Brussels that it would not allow "the humanitarian missions to be transformed into military assistance for autocratic regimes."

French government officials reiterated that France would not intervene in the conflict.

"France has always been neutral in this matter between Hutus and Tutsis," France's cooperation minister, Michel Roussin, said. "This is a problem the Rwandans must settle themselves."

A spokesman for the Russian Defense Ministry said the Israeli Gulfstream-159, a small business jet, crossed Russia's border Saturday on a flight to Tel Aviv from Tbilisi, capital of the former Soviet republic of Georgia.

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said his slain countrymen were "victims of the hatred created intentionally by certain Rwandan media." Rwandan radio stations accused Belgian troops of shooting down the plane carrying the two presidents on a peacemaking mission.

After protracted negotiations, Belgium began evacuating more than 1,500 citizens and their dependents on Monday. A military spokesman said about 300 had left by air and 90 by overland convoy.

A senior commander with the rebel forces said that they were determined to end the "government of killers." He appealed to army units not involved in the ethnic slaughter of Tutsis to desert.

Earlier, fighting between the rebel vanguard and government troops was reported taking place on the outskirts of Kigali.

The rebels had been promised a place in government under a peace agreement that is now in ruins.

The rebels launched their fresh offensive on Saturday, crossing UN-monitored demilitarized zones across northern Rwanda and plunging into the valleys further south. Long lines of guerrillas in full combat gear could be seen moving south through the misty uplands.

In October 1990, France sent about 600 troops to bolster the Hutu-dominated Kigali government after the Rwandan Patriotic Front, made up of Tutsi tribal people, mounted an invasion from Uganda. While these troops were replaced by a 2,500-member UN force in December, some 30 French military advisers remained in Kigali.

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No Rwanda Objectives, France and Belgium Say

By Alan Riding
New York Times Service

PARIS — France and Belgium have both insisted that they have no military or political objectives in Rwanda beyond evacuating foreign nationals, and have no intention of trying to restore law and order to the country, in part because both countries are viewed with suspicion among the factions in the country's civil war.

While the Rwandan government allowed French troops to land at Kigali airport, a sign of good relations between Paris and Kigali, it only permitted eight Belgian troops carrying aircraft to land there after lengthy negotiations involving United Nations officials.

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French government officials reiterated that France would not intervene in the conflict.

"France has always been neutral in this matter between Hutus and Tutsis," France's cooperation minister, Michel Roussin, said. "This is a problem the Rwandans must settle themselves."

A spokesman for the Russian Defense Ministry said the Israeli Gulfstream-159, a small business jet, crossed Russia's border Saturday on a flight to Tel Aviv from Tbilisi, capital of the former Soviet republic of Georgia.

WORLD BRIEFS

U.S. to Sell Israel 25 F-15 Fighters

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — The Clinton administration notified Congress on Monday that it plans to sell 25 advanced McDonnell Douglas F-15 fighters to Israel for \$2.4 billion.

The plan, announced by the Pentagon and expected to be completed without opposition from Congress, will be larger than the initial project announced by Israel in January under which it would have bought 20 of the jets for \$2 billion.

The F-15 jets are one of the most advanced versions of the company's F-15 fighters. The special "T" model upgrades air-combat and long-range ground attack capability for Israel's air force.

Papal Trip to Lebanon Is Postponed

VATICAN CITY (AP) — The Vatican said Monday that Pope John Paul II had decided to postpone indefinitely his trip to Lebanon, after recent violence made security arrangements difficult.

Although the Vatican had never announced a date for the trip, it was widely expected that the pope would be going at the end of May. Last week, the Vatican indicated that the trip was being reconsidered. In addition to the Pope's personal security, there was also the problem of safety of crowds coming out to see him. A bomb explosion during Mass in a Maronite Catholic Church in February killed at least nine people and wounded 30.

Italian President Fights Breakaway

ROME (Reuters) — President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro made an impassioned defense of national unity on Monday after the federalist Northern League had raised the possibility of a breakaway by the north.

Speaking at a ceremony to mark the 50th anniversary of the killing of a priest by German troops in World War II, Mr. Scalfaro underlined the suffering of Italians for their country.

The president spoke a day after the Northern League leader, Umberto Bossi, set to take his party into government for the first time, threatened to lead a breakaway if the administration reneged on what Mr. Bossi said were commitments to federalism.

14 Vietnamese Killed in Cambodia

PEAN SO, Cambodia — Gunmen massacred 14 ethnic Vietnamese in this Cambodian village near Phnom Penh, but survivors could not confirm reports on Monday that Khmer Rouge guerrillas were responsible.

The attack occurred late Saturday when about 10 gunmen stormed the village about 30 kilometers (20 miles) southeast of the capital with guns and grenades. They killed 14 people, mostly women and children, and wounded 20 others, villagers said.

The Vietnamese Embassy in Phnom Penh put out a statement saying local people blamed Khmer Rouge guerrillas for the attack, but villagers said later that they could not say who was responsible.

Taiwan Prods China on Boat Disaster

TAIPEI (Reuters) — Taiwan will not hold talks with China before it receives full details about a recent boat disaster that killed 24 tourists from Taiwan, the cabinet's Mainland Affairs Council said Monday.

The council, which formulates policy towards China, has established a committee to investigate the cause of the disaster and has demanded compensation from China for relatives of the victims.

The victims either burned to death or drowned when the tourist boat taking them across Qiandao Lake in the central province of Zhejiang burst into flames on March 31.

Targeting 'Rogue Bags' on Airliners

MANCHESTER (Reuters) — British authorities on Monday announced new security rules for baggage to help protect airline passengers from attacks like the Lockerbie bombing in December 1988 that killed 270 people.

Lord MacKay, the aviation minister, said the rules, which come into force on July 1, would require airlines to account for every item of baggage placed on international flights at British airports.

The rules are aimed at stopping "rogue bags" — those with no connection to any passenger — from coming aboard. The requirements could be met manually or automatically, but Lord MacKay hailed a new system of bar-coding every item of luggage and linking the results through a computer.

Southwest Airlines Leads in Quality

WASHINGTON (AP) — Southwest Airlines edged past American Airlines last year in overall quality, while that of the biggest U.S. airlines in such areas as punctuality, handling baggage and "bumping" passengers, continued to slip, according to a study released Monday.

Behind Southwest and American, the airlines in order of their 1993 rankings were: United, Delta, USAir, Northwest, TWA, America West and Continental. The fourth annual study is a joint effort of aviation institutes at the University of Nebraska and Wichita State University in Kansas.

Thousands of passengers were stranded at Turkish airports on Monday when Turkish pilots went on a surprise strike to protest working schedules which, a spokesman said, deny them the required rest period after each flight.

The first direct flights from Western Europe to the Ural and Siberia regions of Russia have been announced by Lukhansk. From April 10, the carrier will offer round-trip flights twice a week from Frankfurt to Ekaterinburg in the Urals and Novosibirsk in Siberia. (Bloomberg)

Clintons Failed to List \$6,000 for '79 Taxes

WASHINGTON — The Clintons failed to report about \$6,000 in commodity-related income on their 1979-80 tax returns, the White House disclosed Monday.

Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers said that President Bill Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton would "certainly pay back taxes as required," including interest and penalties. She said the income was related to Mrs. Clinton's investment in commodities, not the Clintons' investment in the Whitewater Development Corp.

"In the course of reviewing documents, we've discovered a small amount of income that was previously undetected," she told a White House briefing. Asked how much, she said: "About \$6,000."

Tax returns for 1979-80 released by the Clintons last month showed that the couple had realized close to a \$100,000 profit on commodities trades. Later documents provided by the White House suggested that Mrs. Clinton made the profit after putting up \$1,000 of her own money, trading mostly in cattle futures.

Traders have said that such a killing in the risky cattle-futures market would be highly unusual for a beginner.

Mr. Myers said the extra income not reported before was "commodities related." Asked if that meant the income had not been reported on their tax returns, she said, "Correct."

"They've taken responsibility for it and they'll certainly pay additional taxes as required," she said.

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Ecuador	170	Norway	007-800-01411
Egypt	355-9770	Paraguay	999-002
El Salvador	195	Peru	1-800-55-1001
Finland	9800-102-80	Puerto Rico	177-150-2727
France	199-0019	Romania	172-1022
Gambia	001-99	Saudi Arabia	800-674-7000
Germany	0130-0012	Senegal	08011
Greece	00-900-1211	Slovak Republic	080-900000
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THE AMERICAS / DEFENDING FRAUD

With Whistle-Blowers Cashing In, Contractors Want to Change the Rules

By Calvin Sims

New York Times Service

LOS ANGELES — Faced with record penalties that followed a worker's blowing the whistle on corporate fraud against the government, weapons contractors are waging a battle on Capitol Hill to make it harder for whistle-blowers to press their cases and collect eye-popping awards.

In the eight years since Congress revised the whistle-blower law to make it more lucrative, a growing number of people have filed cases claiming multimillion-dollar awards for revealing fraud by government contractors, especially weapons manufacturers. So far, the government has collected about \$750 million. Legal experts predict that the amount will surpass \$1 billion this year as more and larger cases come to light.

But defense contractors maintain that such large awards encourage unfounded suits and discourage employees from alerting manage-

ment about wrongdoing. They are pushing legislation, now before the Senate Judiciary Committee, to limit the ability of whistle-blowers to collect.

"There are some serious flaws and oversights in the law that need correcting," said Alan Yuseph, a partner at the law firm of Howrey & Simon in Washington, who is leading the lobbying effort for the weapons companies.

John Kuehl, corporate vice president of the Hughes Aircraft Co., a Los Angeles-based military contractor, said: "We do not believe that the whistle-blower law has worked well. The people who are filing these cases are disgruntled employees who would go to the government with this information even if the law wasn't there."

The contractors' effort to change the law comes as whistle-blowers like Douglas D. Keeth are setting records with their awards. Mr. Keeth, a former financial officer for United Technologies Corp., was awarded \$22.5 million

this month for exposing the company's fraudulent billing practices for helicopters bought by the Pentagon in the 1980s.

Mr. Keeth's was the largest single award ever made under the Federal False Claims Act. To settle the case, United Technologies, based in Hartford, Connecticut, agreed to pay the government \$150 million, of which Mr. Keeth got 15 percent, a minimum percentage set by the law.

That case came on the heels of \$23 million, in two separate awards, to Christopher (Jack) Dowden, a former sales manager for Metwest, a diagnostic testing subsidiary of Corning Inc. Mr. Dowden tipped off the government to a scheme in which his employer and a competitor, National Health Laboratories Inc. of San Diego, had overbilled federal and state health-care programs by \$150 million for unnecessary blood tests.

Mr. Dowden said in a recent interview that his initial motive for going to the authorities

was to damage his competitor, not to line his pocket. But today he has enough money that he plans never to work again. He and his wife recently bought a new home, a fishing boat and two luxury automobiles, a Lexus and a Jaguar.

"I didn't do it for the money," Mr. Dowden said. "I did it because what these companies were doing was wrong, and I was trying to keep my company from falling into the same trap. But I certainly don't feel bad about having all this money. I don't need to apologize for it, after what I've gone through."

The False Claims Act was enacted in 1863 in an effort to punish contractors who sold defective supplies to the Union Army during the Civil War. It was amended in 1986 to allow the government to recover triple damages from defrauding contractors and to give whistle-blowers 15 percent to 25 percent of any amount the government recouped.

Among the most significant changes to the law that the weapons companies are seeking is a provision that would bar whistle-blower suits

when a government contractor has voluntarily disclosed the fraud. Another change would bar employees from filing suit or would limit their financial recovery if they had not moved swiftly enough to voice their complaint after learning of the fraud.

Advocates for the current whistle-blower statute say weapons contractors are trying to render the law useless. They argue that employees would never come forward without a financial incentive.

Senator Charles E. Grassley, Republican of Iowa, the architect of the 1986 law, called the amendments sought by the weapons industry "laughable."

"It's easier for these guys to spend money to lobby Congress than for them to follow the law and stop cheating the government," he said.

John Phillips, a Washington-based lawyer who specializes in whistle-blower cases, said: "We are expecting some very big cases to be settled this year, with some potentially huge

recoveries. There are a lot of cases in the pipeline because the public is now realizing the implications of the whistle-blower statute."

A whistle-blower suit must be investigated promptly by the Justice Department, which has 60 days to decide whether a case has enough merit for the government to take over its prosecution. Extensions are routinely granted. The cases remain under seal until the agency makes its determination.

Of the 700 whistle-blower suits filed since 1986, the Justice Department has intervened in about 100 cases, or 14 percent. Currently, 200 cases remain under seal and are being investigated. A total of 73 cases have been settled and 26 are being litigated, according to lawyers familiar with the cases.

If the government takes the case, the whistle-blower acts as a co-plaintiff. When the Justice Department chooses not to pursue a case, the whistle-blower can proceed alone and is entitled to 25 percent to 30 percent of any amount recovered.

★ POLITICAL NOTES ★

Looking Into Radiation Tests on Civilians

CINCINNATI — In the hottest days of the Cold War, when both East and West were planning for the worst, the American military had a frighteningly practical question: In the event of a nuclear explosion, how much radiation could a soldier withstand before becoming disoriented or disabled?

The Pentagon turned to the University of Cincinnati for answers. There, from 1960 to 1971, an eminent radiologist, Dr. Eugene L. Saenger, and his colleagues conducted experiments on 88 cancer patients, ages 9 to 84, exposing them to intense doses of radiation and recording their physical and mental responses.

All but one of the patients were terminally ill and, with the exception of that young woman, have been dead for years. Most were poor; 60 percent were black.

The Cincinnati study exposed patients to the highest levels of whole-body radiation and, some experts say, probably caused the most deaths of all the known government-sponsored radiation experiments since World War II.

There is disagreement about how many died of radiation poisoning rather than cancer.

Among other questions about the research that have never been settled and continue to haunt this and other radiation studies conducted at the government's behest are these:

- Did the radiation levels help treat the patients' cancers?
- Did top University of Cincinnati administrators conduct reviews by top medical faculty who criticized how the experiment by one of their leading researchers was done?

These issues will receive their first congressional airing at a House Judiciary subcommittee hearing in Cincinnati. (NYT)

Clinton's Fall Role: The Big Push Begins

WASHINGTON — About every week, 10 or so Democratic strategists planning President Bill Clinton's role in the 1994 election campaign gather in the White House basement under the leadership of Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes.

His new posting as campaign overseer, which drains time from his efforts as political point man for the administration's health-care reform proposal — the White House's No. 1 legislative priority — testifies to Mr. Clinton's awareness that this fall's balloting is likely to go a long way toward defining his political future.

This is the first midterm election since 1978 in which either party has had control of the White House as well as both houses of Congress. This means, said Donald Pomper, a Rutgers University specialist on elections, that "the Democrats won't be able to blame the Republicans; they will be running on their own record."

By most reckonings, Republicans have only an outside chance of gaining control of the Senate and no chance at all of taking the House.

But the real danger for Mr. Clinton is that the Republicans will make significant inroads, leaving the Democrats in nominal control and Mr. Clinton facing what Mr. Pomper views as the worst of all political worlds: "He will still have Democratic majorities in both Houses, but it will be more difficult for him to get his legislation through." (LAT)

Quote/Unquote

Richard R. Mollere, general counsel for the Northrop Corp., a major defense contractor: "We encourage our employees to report wrongdoing, and we have established numerous ethics, education, and monitoring programs to assist them. But why should they come to us when they can make millions by going to the federal government?" (NYT)



ORBITING ABOVE IT ALL — Linda Godwin, an astronaut, and Commander Sidney Gutierrez working aboard the space shuttle Endeavour, which is on a nine-day mission to monitor the Earth's environment. The shuttle was launched into orbit on Saturday.

Red Tape Tangles Takers of U.S. Federal Buyout Program

By Karen De Witt

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — When the clock strikes midnight on Sept. 30, ending the fiscal year, nearly 50,000 federal workers will retire or take early leave as part of the Clinton administration's plan to remake the federal government. But leaving is not easy.

In a Kafkaesque turnabout, the makers of so much red tape will themselves now face a maze of forms and briefings before they can leave their jobs.

There are compulsory departure seminars to attend, identification cards to return, E-mail codes to be divested, interviews to be given, signatures to be checked and an inch-thick stack of forms to fill out. The higher the position held, the more material required.

Each month hundreds of federal workers across the nation leave

government employment for a variety of reasons including retirement or taking private sector jobs.

But the departure rate is expected to step up considerably in the coming months because of the Federal Workforce Restructuring Act of 1994. Better known as the Buyout Bill, it authorizes agencies to offer up to \$25,000 to employees who resign or retire early.

As many as 50,000 federal workers will leave their jobs as part of the administration's push to reduce the size of the government.

Vice President Al Gore, who is overseeing the departures as part of his mission to "reinvent government," said the reduction would help rid the federal government of unnecessary and duplicative layers of management control that result in inefficiency and red tape.

But unless the current system changes, those wishing to take advantage of the offer will have to

make their way through layers of management control. The process is much more exhaustive than the relatively simple procedure most people go through in leaving jobs in the private sector.

"You're actually given a checklist," said Richard E. Bissell, a former assistant administrator at the U.S. Agency for International Development who left the government a year ago. "There are literally dozens of items to be checked off, each of which requires a separate form and a visit to a different office."

Jim King, the director of the Office of Personnel Management, leaves his observations about the departure process with humor but does not hold out much hope for change.

He ticked off a series of forms and checklists for what is known as "disengagement," but warned, "I'm touching on the high points now, not everything."

"Take Form 4754-A," Mr. King explained. "That assumes that you have a notorious life and that you have in point of fact been every place in the government and have something that you should return and apologize for: library card, equipment, bank or credit union loans, forwarding address, government identification, cars, car keys."

"Over the years," he continued, "every agency has identified that somehow someone slipped out in

Away From Politics

• A vaccine developed to treat a high-risk category of skin cancer patients has been found to be 70 percent effective. After three years of study, researchers at Thomas Jefferson University in Philadelphia said this compared with 20 percent effectiveness in patients treated with surgery only.

• A huge bolt of lightning struck as people played Frisbee on a rain-drenched field in Nashville, Tennessee, killing one person and injuring 18. "It was like a grenade that exploded," said one survivor, Fred Bass.

• High water kept roads closed Monday in Missouri, and flood warnings were in effect in Ohio as more rain followed severe thunderstorms and flash floods that killed at least four people in the Middle West. Up to 6 inches (15 centimeters) of snow were forecast in the Plains states.

• A radar device, fixed after an initial kink, beamed down three-dimensional images of the Sahara Desert and southern Italy as the shuttle Endeavour soared overhead, the Houston space center reported. Six astronauts are working in teams around the clock, taking thousands of photographs.

• Blacks cannot metabolize as well as whites one of the most deadly cancer-causing chemicals in cigarette smoke, a new study shows. That may explain why black smokers are 50 percent more likely to get lung cancer and to die from it, John Richie of the American Health Foundation said Sunday.

• A gust of air from an air lock knocked down a group of workers at the Seabrook nuclear plant in New Hampshire, slightly injuring 11 of them, authorities said. An air lock is an airtight compartment between places that do not have the same air pressure.

Overpayments of an estimated \$1 billion went to welfare recipients in 1991 because of fraud and error, a federal survey found. Yet, it said, thousands of indigent families with children were improperly denied benefits.

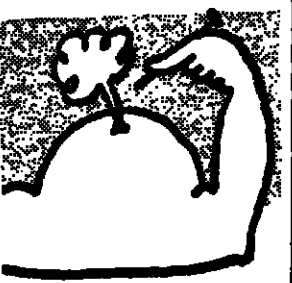
AP, Reuters.

BOOKS

WHAT THEY'RE READING

• Friedrich Schenfelder, German author, is reading "Preussen Ohne Legende" (Prussia Without Legend) by Sebastian Haefter.

It is thrilling to read about how a country can become big and powerful and then suddenly fall apart. This is a history book that starts at the beginning of the founding of Prussia. It's a story well-told, without getting too emotional about the past. (Michael Kaltenbach, IHT)



her sexual feelings. But to conceal is the most effective, popular method of revealing. It always gives away the suppressed pope smoke, the deciding vote.

Why can't Cora bring herself to marry Ray? You could say she is too absorbed in herself, her career and her committee of friends, which includes her screenwriting partner, Bud, a manic-depressive who has been "on lithium for well over 10 years" and as a result has been known even to forget who his own lovers are.

Significantly, Cora gets on with Ray best when she is drawn out of herself by the dying of a friend with AIDS. And equally significant, the wordplay often waxes lyrical during this interval in her life.

But the point of "Delusions of Cora" is not to analyze Cora. It is instead to chart the course of her reconciliation to the state of single parenthood, her milestones being a series of letters addressed to her unborn child bearing the salutation "Dear Esme." (Her reference to the Salinger story that this name inevitably calls to mind pointedly neglects to mention the story's full title, "For Esme, With Love and Squalor.")

Yet if there is a telltale symptom of Cora's difficulty with relating, it is precisely her insistence on deflecting the subject under discussion by focusing on its language. "For good?" asks a friend when Cora tells her she has split with Ray. "Well, I don't know how good it is in terms of the baby and everything — but I guess it's better for him and me."

This habit can be irritating when

the double meanings yield limited dividends. "I'm beholden to you," Bud tells Cora at one point. "For that matter, I'm Bill Holden to you."

Again and again in passages like these, we glimpse an intelligence that would prefer not to look beyond the surface of language.

Happily, the presence of the most heavy-handed wordplay is limited. More often, Fisher plays her gags lightly, as when Cora and Ray go looking for a runaway dog and call out the dog's name, "Stella! Stella!" or when she writes to Ray about the birth of their child and concludes, "Think of us as two people who managed not to throw the baby out with the bathwater."

As for the novel's title, "Delusions of Grandma," its more obvious relevance to Fisher's story does not quite match its cleverness as a pun. The phrase appears twice in the narrative, each time referring to the fantasies of Cora's mother, Viv, the grandmother of Cora's baby, whose false perceptions don't have all that much to do with the central issues of the book.

But with not too much of a stretch you can also take the phrase to mean the doubt that Cora, too, will become a grandmother, or that it's delusional to believe that single

motherhood can go on and on. Delusions of Grandmotherhood, as it were.

Beneath all the clowning wordplay, this may be the issue that Fisher is seriously addressing. And her not unobvious answer is that there may be hope, especially if people like Cora can dig beneath the surface meaning of things.

Christopher Lehmann-Haupt is on the staff of The New York Times.

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Herald Tribune

Published with the New York Times and the Washington Post

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

COURT OF APPEALS OF PARIS

JANUARY 18, 1994
1ST CHAMBER - 1ST SECTION

ON THESE GROUNDS

[The Court] holds (...) that, since prior trademarks took precedence on such date [December 2, 1977], this distinctive sign "Manopoles Altred Rothschild" constitutes an illegal imitation of those of the same type as those held by the appellants ["Consorts de Rothschild"] to protect wines and spirits.

As a result, holds that the trademark "Manopoles Altred Rothschild" is null and void, and orders its cancellation.

Holds that this decision will be registered with the French National Trademark Registry (Registre National des Marques) upon the application and of the diligence of the court clerk.

Holds that all the respondent parties [Mr. and Mrs. Myers; Etablissement André Telles; Etablissement E. Parrot & Cie; Compagnie Française des Grands Vins; EPY GEL; S.F.I.P.A.G.] have committed an illegal imitation of the aforementioned trademarks. Orders them not to continue with any exploitation of the "Manopoles Altred Rothschild" trademark in any form whatsoever, under the penalty of a fine of 1,000 francs per violation observed.

Orders, in redress of the injury suffered by the appellants, that the costs of this decision be published.

Stays its decision on the claims for the payment of damages. Orders an accounting expertise to be performed.

Appoints for such purpose Mr. (...).

1) to specify the turnover realized by the respondent parties by reason of the exploitation, the leasing and the marketing, as from December 2, 1977, of the product in class 33 sold under the name "Manopoles Altred Rothschild";

2) to provide all technical and factual information allowing the Court to validate the exact amount of the damage suffered by the appellants by reason of the exploitation of the aforementioned trademark.

(VALID FOR A CERTIFIED COPY, MR. CHARLES KORMAN, ESQ., MARTINET & ASSOCIES ATTORNEYS WITH THE BAR OF PARIS)

ADVERTISEMENT

AN APPEAL TO SUSPEND TURKEY FROM THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

The undersigned Non-Governmental Organizations are indignant and shocked by the arrest and prosecution of six Kurdish deputies of the Turkish Parliament for "separatist" opinions (which, under Article 125 of the Turkish penal code incur the death penalty), and by legal proceedings to ban the Democracy Party (DEP) to which they belong. Persecution of the Kurds' elected representatives is accompanied by an intensification of the war in the Kurdish provinces. On the pretext of fighting terrorism, Turkish forces have evacuated and burned down at least 874 villages, destroyed six towns, bombed the forests, massacred innocent civilians - including a parliamentary deputy, over thirty reporters and newspaper distributors, and 70 local and national DEP leaders - and forced hundreds of thousands of Kurds to flee their lands. These massive, systematic violations of human rights, consistently condemned by many independent organizations, are not compatible with the founding principles and statutes of the Council of Europe, nor universal standards of democracy. Therefore we ask that the question of suspending Turkey be put on the agendas of the Parliamentary Assembly and the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, as a matter of urgency.

Our hope is that this suspension, which is fully justified in view of the Council's statutes, will be decided upon quickly and maintained until Turkey frees the Kurdish deputies, ends legal proceedings to ban their party for its opinions, rids its legislation of any measures encroaching upon civil liberties and human rights and fulfills, in accordance with the Charter of Paris and with existing borders, the legitimate aspirations of the Kurdish people for democracy and the recognition of their own identity.

The signatories of the Appeal are:

Agir ensemble pour les droits de l'homme, Agir ici, GGT, CIMADE, Comité national de solidarité au peuple kurde, CRIDEV, Fédération Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l'Homme, Fédération Internationale des SOS-Racisme, Fondation France-Libertés, FSU, LICRA, Maison du Monde, Médicins du Monde, MRAP, Nouveaux Droits de l'Homme, Peuples Solidaires, SNES, SNESUP, SOS-Racisme, Terre des Hommes-France, Comité de Défense des Libertés et des Droits de l'Homme.

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A Battle for Backing in Japan

Governing Coalition Split, Foes Maneuver

By Steven Brull

International Herald Tribune

TOKYO — Japan's political world appeared headed toward potentially paralyzing disarray on Monday as the governing coalition moved to the brink of breaking up, with conservative and liberal wings each stepping up efforts to lure defectors from the opposition Liberal Democratic Party.

The jockeying underscored sharp differences over policies and personalities that are likely to weaken the hand of whoever succeeds Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa, who on Friday abruptly announced his intention to resign because of questionable handling of personal finances.

A weakened government would complicate Western efforts to enlist Japan in a united front to impose sanctions against North Korea over its refusal to allow inspections of all its nuclear sites. It would also hamper Tokyo's ability to complete economic measures bold enough to placate Washington, which is frustrated by the huge bilateral trade imbalance and difficulties in penetrating the Japanese market.

The extent of the rift in the gov-

erning coalition was evident on Monday as conservatives boycotted a strategy session called by Socialist and other liberal groups that comprise the eight-party coalition. The strongest voice of the conservatives is Ichiro Ozawa, power broker of the Japan Renewal Party, largest of the conservative groups in the coalition.

Leaders of both camps could agree on little more than the need to choose a successor to Mr. Hosokawa by the end of the week. That would enable parliament to pass the budget for the fiscal year that began April 1. If the two camps fail to reconcile their differences quickly, the coalition that in August ousted the Liberal Democratic Party after 38 years in power would effectively be finished.

The more liberal factions, led by the New Party Sakigake and including the Socialist Party and the Democratic Socialist Party, oppose the Japan Renewal Party's effort to install Foreign Minister Tsutomu Hata as prime minister. They say that would strengthen Mr. Ozawa's dominance over policy-making.

Proclaiming its independence,

the alliance issued a statement that highlighted policy differences and assailed Mr. Ozawa's penchant for back-room deal-making. The statement stressed that Japan should maintain its pacifist policies and continue the reform drive launched by the Hosokawa administration.

In a direct attack on Mr. Ozawa, it said the new government "must increase the openness of its decision-making."

The statement also said the parties were open to forming an alliance with Liberal Democrats, as long as they did not play a leading role.

Leaders of the Japan Renewal Party, which is allied with the Buddhist-backed Clean Government Party and the Japan New Party, are wondering if they can attract enough progressive Liberal Democrats to form a new centrist coalition without the Socialists.

All eyes were on a former deputy prime minister and foreign minister, Michio Watanabe, who leads a Liberal Democratic faction with about 50 members. Mr. Watanabe, who is said to be suffering from cancer, has made no secret of his



Michio Watanabe, a former foreign minister, who is playing a key role in Japan's political drama.

interest in the top job, but he has not made a formal bid.

"It depends on the policy of those who would invite me and how much of the LDP would be willing to follow me," Mr. Watanabe said.

"But if asked, I must say that I do have the will, the intent and physical ability."

The Liberal Democratic Party, meanwhile, was trying to maintain its cohesion as it watched the coal-

ition straining at the seams. But over the weekend, the party's president, Yoshi Kono, said it would consider forming a coalition with the Social Democrats provided policies could be coordinated.

Shanghai Activist

Recounts a Beating

3 Dissidents, Now Free, Say

Balladur Visit Caused Arrest

Agence France-Press

BEIJING — Three Shanghai dissidents detained during Prime Minister Edouard Balladur's visit to China last week were released, but the country's human rights campaigners remained in police hands Monday.

One of those released on Sunday, Wang Fucheng, secretary-general of the Chinese Human Rights Association, said he had been beaten during his detention.

Mr. Wang and two other dissidents detained in Shanghai — Bao Ge and Yang Zhou — said they had been able to return home Sunday, but that they were placed under house arrest for most of the day and that their telephones were cut until Monday morning so that they could not speak with the press.

They were released after Mr. Balladur left Shanghai on Sunday, they added.

"We were arrested because of Balladur's visit," Mr. Yang, 50, the

association's spokesman, told AFP. Mr. Bao, 31, added: "The government was scared we would do something to upset the visit."

Mr. Wang, 39, first detained on Friday, was released and then rearrested Saturday.

"During my second arrest Saturday afternoon, I was beaten for 20 minutes by three plain-clothes policemen," he said.

Mr. Bao and Mr. Yang were first taken to the police station, and each spent Saturday night in a different hotel under police surveillance and were restricted from leaving.

The Ministry of Security said Monday that the police were pursuing "investigations" of the two best-known dissidents, Xu Wenli, 49, and Wei Jingsheng, 43.

"The police investigations of Xu Wenli and Wei Jingsheng continue," a ministry spokesman said. An investigation of Tong Yi, Mr. Wei's secretary, is also under way, he added. She is detained in Beijing.

The spokesman did not indicate why the three were being held or where they were.

But the ministry said that Mr. Xu had been detained by the police for having "violated the terms of his parole."

Mr. Xu, a leader of the 1978-79 Democracy Wall movement in Beijing, was released on parole in May 1993 after 12 years in prison.

Mr. Xu had been picked up on Thursday as Mr. Balladur arrived in Beijing. He was released, but was arrested again on Friday, his wife, Kang Tong, said.

His arrest came just a week after his friend, Wei Jingsheng, was detained on accusations of having "committed new crimes." Mr. Wei received a 14-year sentence for his role in the Democracy Wall movement.

The Foreign Ministry said: "This entirely falls within China's sovereignty and has nothing to do with China's relations with other countries."

The incidents come in the run-up to the fifth anniversary on June 4 of the crackdown against dissidents in Beijing's Tiananmen Square.

That anniversary also virtually coincides with a scheduled decision by President Bill Clinton whether to renew most-favored-nation trading status for China — a decision linked to a requirement for China's "substantial" progress on human rights.

Alain Juppé, the foreign minister who accompanied Mr. Balladur to China, said in a radio interview in Paris on Monday that French officials had discussed with the Chinese authorities "our conception of human rights" and "how we considered that from this point of view the situation in China was unsatisfactory."

Balladur Chided for Silence

French Cite Low-Key China Rights Stance

By Alan Riding

New York Times Service

PARIS — Returning from a four-day trip to China to seek business opportunities for French firms, Prime Minister Edouard Balladur came under strong attack Monday for not speaking out more critically about China's human rights record.

Mr. Balladur's decision to handle the issue "discreetly," as he put it, proved even more embarrassing because six Chinese dissidents were detained during his visit in what some French commentators described as Beijing's way of emphasizing that it was indifferent to outside criticism.

Under the headline, "Balladur's Diplomatic Fiasco in China," Libération said the detentions were an affront to the French leader.

The daily also carried a cartoon showing him waving a piece of paper and saying, "A contract to build a prison for one billion Chinese."

In an interview with Le Quotidien, Michel Jobert, a former foreign minister, said Mr. Balladur had sacrificed French principles to Chinese "whims" since it was "entirely predictable that the Chinese authorities would make him lick their red carpet."

In a separate editorial, the newspaper said the arrest of the dissidents was "shocking, indeed scandalous, but not surprising" because China seemed intent on "teaching

France a lesson" for earlier arms sales to Taiwan.

It questioned whether Mr. Balladur should have made the trip at all.

With criticism of his performance already being voiced here before he returned to Paris, the prime minister defended his performance to reporters on the flight home from Shanghai on Sunday, arguing that the rights issue "should not be played down, but it should not define our entire foreign policy."

"We are not going to give lessons to the whole world while others who invoke moral values are doing business behind our back," he added, noting that commercial deals with China were now possible.

"I believe France had to resume exchanges with the world's most populous nation."

With the trip also seemingly designed to raise Mr. Balladur's profile in international affairs in preparation for a possible candidacy in next year's presidential elections, opposition groups jumped at the chance of exploiting his handling of the rights question in China.

Former President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who also harbors hopes of returning to the Elysée Palace next year, said China's public message should have been answered publicly.

"You have to understand the Chinese psychology," he said, "and you always have to adopt a position

of strength, not of aggression, but of strength."

Reporters accompanying Mr. Balladur said that he and Foreign Minister Alain Juppé were clearly irritated by the arrests of three dissidents in Shanghai just as they were about to visit the city.

They quoted Mr. Juppé as saying: "It is beginning to be a bit much. We have asked for explanations, and we expect a reply."

Later, he said he had been assured that "there are no dissidents in prison."

But on the flight home, he said that China's denial that the three men were jailed — they were actually held in a police precinct — suggested a feud within the leadership.

"I believe some people are not happy with the rapprochement between France and China," he said.

The one apparent concession made to the rights issue was that Mr. Balladur issued a formal invitation to visit France to President Jiang Zemin rather than to Prime Minister Li Peng, who is associated with the massacre of student protesters in Tiananmen Square.

For the pro-government daily, Le Figaro, the arrest of the dissidents — all have reportedly since been freed — was organized by Mr. Li "to punish France for not inviting him to France."

But it argued that the commercial success of Mr. Balladur's trip was "undeniable."

New Prime Minister Is Named in Algeria

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ALGIERS — Prime Minister Redha Malek resigned on Monday after presiding over the most violent months of the Muslim insurgency in Algeria. President Liamine Zeroual immediately named Mokdad Sifi, the minister of equipment, as prime minister to form a new government.

The change was announced a day after Algeria's army-backed rulers devalued the dinar by 28.6 percent as part of a debt-relief deal with the International Monetary Fund. Diplomats and analysts had expected Mr. Malek's resignation at the end of the long negotiations with the IMF, in which Algeria accepted price rises and a big devaluation in exchange for a rescheduling of its \$27 billion debt.

They said a change of prime minister was necessary to make easier Mr. Zeroual's efforts to seek a negotiated solution to the country's civil strife with the Islamic opposition.

Progress in the effort toward economic recovery, including controlling rampant unemployment, is seen as a key to stemming the fundamentalists' popularity among Algeria's disaffected and poor.

Mr. Malek became prime minister last August, a month before Muslim fundamentalists stepped up their violent campaign against the government, widening random attacks to include foreigners.

The insurrection began more than two years ago when the government, in January 1992, canceled elections for a new parliament that fundamentalists were winning. More than 3,000

people have been killed since then in violence attributed to militant Muslims.

Mr. Malek, a modernist firmly opposed to religious fundamentalism, resigned once before, in February, after a national conference intended to bring Algeria's fractious political parties together.

But most parties boycotted the conference or walked out. The fundamentalists, whose top leaders have been in jail for more than two years, did not take part. Mr. Malek was reappointed in a cabinet reshuffling that left little changed.

Mr. Sifi, 53, was trained in physics and chemistry in Algeria and Paris. He has held high-ranking posts in several ministries.

(AP, Reuters)

Argentine Vote Clears a 2d-Term Try for Menem

Reuters

BUENOS AIRES — President Carlos Saul Menem claimed a mandate on Monday for his plan to run for a second term.

"I tell you now, we are going to continue what we have begun," he said at a press conference as results of Sunday's voting confirmed a victory. "The economic model has the backing of the political forces."

Mr. Menem's Peronist Party took 38 percent of the nationwide vote, followed by the Radical Party with 20 percent, according to official results from 94 percent of voting stations.

Mr. Menem said the Peronists and parties that supported them would have 240 seats in the 305-seat constituent assembly, amply assur-

ing passage of an amendment to end the ban on consecutive presidential terms.

With his term expiring next year, Mr. Menem wants a second term to consolidate the free-market reforms that produced what he calls his "economic miracle" and turned Argentina into one of the world's leading emerging markets.

But the president had a setback in the capital in the upset victory of the Broad Front leftist coalition, thrown together just months ago to protest the re-election bid and mounting charges of government corruption.

With the exception of a Socialist senator elected in 1961, no leftists had won in Buenos Aires for half a century.

"This is a 'no' to corruption, a 'no' to Men-

em's re-election," the Broad Front leader, Carlos Alvarez, told a television interviewer.

In recent weeks, the government has seen itself sucked into one scandal after another as close aides of Mr. Menem and top officials faced charges — rarely upheld in court — of multimillion-dollar corruption and fraud in everything from the sale of state assets to the management of pension funds.

The major loser from Sunday's vote appeared to be the opposition Radical Party of Mr. Menem's predecessor, Raúl Alfonsín.

Mr. Alfonsín's party, still identified in the minds of most Argentines with four-digit hyperinflation in 1989, alienated many of its most loyal voters with this shift.

Andre Tchelistcheff, Wine Expert, Dies

By Frank J. Priol

New York Times Service

Andre Tchelistcheff, a seminal figure in the modern California wine industry and an enologist of international renown, died Tuesday at a hospital in Napa, California. He was 92.

Mr. Tchelistcheff had cancer of the esophagus, according to Rich Cartier, editor of Wine Business Monthly, a trade publication.

Over the years, the diminutive Mr. Tchelistcheff — he was barely five feet (about 1.50 meters) tall — worked with dozens of wineries and counseled countless men and women who went on to become prominent winemakers in their own right.

But for most of his 56-year wine career in California, he was associated with Beaulieu Vineyards at Rutherford in the Napa Valley, and especially with Beaulieu's signature wine, Georges de Latour Private Reserve Cabernet Sauvignon.

Mr. de Latour, a native of France who first bought the Beaulieu estate in 1899, made a fortune selling sacramental wine during Prohibition. After repeal, he determined to make a California wine to rival France's best and he concluded that only a French winemaker could do it for him.

He had not planned on hiring a White Russian refugee, but after meeting Mr. Tchelistcheff in Paris in 1938, he decided to do just that.

Mr. Tchelistcheff (pronounced CHEL-sheff) arrived in California later that year and began a relationship with Beaulieu that lasted until 1973, when he retired for the first time.

In 1962, the de Latour family sold Beaulieu Vineyards, a Connecticut wine and spirits company that is now a division of IDV, a British conglomerate.

Lee Brilleaux, 41, founder of the cult British rhythm and blues band Dr. Feelgood, has died of cancer at

his home near London, friends said Friday.

Kurt Meisel, 81, the Austrian actor and director, has died after a stroke, Vienna's Burghtheater announced last week.

Stefan Guse, 54, who as provisional Romanian army chief of staff led the assault on the secret police in the uprising that ended the Ceausescu dictatorship in 1989, died March 28 of lung cancer in the military hospital in Bucharest, the state news agency Rompres reported.

Moises Pellerano Lopez-Pelma, 82, president of Listin Diario, the Dominican Republic's biggest newspaper publishing company, died last Monday in Miami, where he had been convalescing from heart problems.

Henri Gouhier, 95, philosopher and member of the Académie Française, died March 31 in Paris.

his associates announced last week.

Sonia Rahms, 85, an editor of Chelsea, a New York avant-garde literary magazine that specialized in promising new writers, died March 19 at her home in New York of cardiac arrest, a colleague said.

DEATH NOTICE

His family and friends regret to announce the death of

Jon Gabriel JOUANNY-COFFEY

on April 8, 1994

Funeral service to be held at the American Cathedral, 23 Avenue George V, Paris 8th, on Wednesday, April 13, at 10:30 A.M.

No flowers please; letters of condolence may be sent to his wife, Françoise Jouanny-Coffey, 8 Avenue de la Belle Gabrielle, 91120 Evry-Courcouronnes.

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NATO Chief Sends A Tough Warning: Don't Hit UN Force

run backed by the threat of NATO air strikes. Several warplanes, a pair of U.S. Navy F-16s, destroyed two Bosnian Serbian bombers, flying over central Bosnia in defiance of a UN-declared no-flight zone.

But even in the case of the Sarajevo ultimatum, the UN was careful to preserve at least the appearance of neutrality, emphasizing that the threat of air strikes applied to any heavy weapons inside the so-called exclusion zone, including those controlled by Bosnia's Muslim government.

U.S. military officials expressed doubt as to whether NATO's success in Sarajevo could be applied to other cities, including Gorazde, where the besieging Serbian forces were spread more thinly.

In other instances, the threat of NATO military intervention has been undermined by hesitancy and missteps. Last month, for example, French peacekeeping troops near the central Bosnian town of Bihać reported that they were taking fire from Serbian tanks and requested air support.

But UN officials waited more than three hours to grant the request, by which time the Serbian forces had left the town. The Acting Mr. Perry called for a "more streamlined" command authority.

Results Are Uncertain

Rick Atkinson of The Washington Post reported from Berlin:

NATO officials acknowledged that they were uncertain how effective the attacks Sunday and Monday actually were.

"Right now all we've got are pilot reports because the weather prevented us to see in their direction," he said.

The Associated Press

MOSCOW — A Russian patrol vessel forced eight Japanese fishing boats out of Russia's territorial waters near the disputed Kuril Islands, the military said Monday.

The Japanese boats intruded four kilometers (2.5 miles) into Russian waters near the southern island late Sunday and were ordered out by a Russian patrol ship.

strikes by two U.S. F-16s, but said "they were delayed a bit too long."

In London, Prime Minister John Major said of the UN attack:

"It makes it perfectly clear to the Serbs or to anyone else that we are serious about making sure that United Nations resolutions are actually being kept. I think the air strikes were justified. They were certainly within the authority

the area."

The Netherlands also expressed support for the action in a statement released in The Hague by the Foreign Ministry.

In Japan, the chief cabinet secretary, Masayoshi Takemura, said:

"We understand the strikes were unavoidable, as they were taken in line with the UN resolutions."

(AFP, Reuters)

The Associated Press
MOSCOW — A Russian patrol vessel forced eight Japanese fishing boats out of Russia's territorial waters near the disputed Kuril Islands, the military said Monday.

The Japanese boats intruded four kilometers (2.5 miles) into Russian waters near Anuchin Island late Sunday and were ordered out by a Russian patrol ship.

Continued from Page 1

Gorazde does not stop. The NATO officer declined to define those "bigger things," but added: "At this point we really want them to get the picture that they should stop. We've got a lot of airplanes and a lot of bombs."

Monclio Krajisnik, the speaker of the self-appointed Bosnian Serb parliament, warned that the Serbs would not withdraw from Gorazde.

"We cannot abandon Gorazde, because 35 percent of its population before the war was Serb," he said in a radio interview.

Mr. Warner warned Bosnian Serbs on Monday not to retaliate against UN peacekeepers after the allied air strikes and said there would be a tough response if they did.

"We would not sit there," he said. "NATO would react very forcefully."

The attack on Monday came from two U.S. Marine Corps F/A-18s flying out of Aviano Air Base in northern Italy. As in Sunday's mission, they responded to a call that originated from UN observers in Gorazde and attacked under the direction of a UN forward air controller.

The planes dropped a total of five Mark 82 500-pound "dumb" bombs against three Bosnian Serb armored personnel carriers. Initial damage assessment from the pilots was that the strike was "very successful," according to a NATO officer in Naples.

(Reuters, AP, WP, AFP, NYT)

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Prayer is the voice of all problems, light of all roads so that I can reach my goal. You who gave me the divine gift to forgive, please intercede for me and who have shown me that it is all contained in my life you are with me. I pray in this short prayer to be able to pray for all things and concern again that I never want to be separated from you for the future. Thank you for your mercy toward me and mine.

(The person may start this prayer on 3 consecutive days. After 3 days the request will be granted. The prayer must be published after the favor is granted!)

MAY THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS be glorified, glorified, loved and preserved throughout the world now and forever. Sacred Heart of Jesus pray for us. Save Jesus' mother of sorrows pray for us. Save Jesus' heart of hope pray for us. AMEN. A.M.C.

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Herald Tribune

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Another African Challenge

Since October, more than 100,000 people have been killed in Burundi, while 700,000 people have fled the country. A civil war between the majority Hutu and minority Tutsi tribes has spilled over into Rwanda, and now both countries teeter on anarchy.

Burundi's new president, Cyprien Ntaryamira, and the Rwandan president, Juvénal Habyarimana, were killed last Wednesday when their aircraft crashed, possibly downed by a rocket, as they were returning from a peace conference in Tanzania. That ignited a full-scale massacre in Rwanda that has claimed thousands of civilians, peacekeepers and the country's prime minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana. Trapped in the melee was a UN force of 2,500 peacekeepers from a score of nations that had been vainly trying to enforce a cease-fire.

Amid the appalling loss of life, chaos and crop failures are spreading hunger and disease through refugee camps. As disarming is the prospect of a conflict without end, adding another failed state to a list already including Bosnia, Somalia and Liberia, the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations all have a primary responsibility to provide emergency relief and keep open doors for peace-making. But at some point the world may need to ask, if these efforts fail, whether or not to stand aside if belligerents cannot agree.

It has almost reached that point in Burundi and Rwanda. Rivalry between the now dominant Hutu and their former feudal overlords, the Tutsi, predates the countries' independence from Belgium in 1962. The latest round of fighting in Burundi began last October when the army, the Tutsi stronghold, assassinated a Hutu president. His successor was also a Hutu; so was his fellow passenger on the fatal plane, the president of Rwanda. Thus the presumptive blame for the orgy of slaughter falls on Tutsi warriors seeking to reimpose their past dominance.

Yet Hutu radio broadcasts are just as bloodthirsty as those of the Tutsi, which only heightens the tragedy of a failed cease-fire and the assassination of the peace-seeking presidents. The Security Council may have no ready answer to this terrible riddle, but the first urgent need is to establish what happened and to pinpoint political responsibility for all these horrific killings.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

Shooting Down the Treaty

The 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty outlawed the testing and deployment of nationwide defenses against missile attack. By limiting defenses it made it possible for the United States and Russia to agree to reduce their nuclear arsenals. The Clinton administration now wants to test and deploy new anti-missile defenses to give American forces on the battlefield some protection against missiles like the Scud. And Russia is willing to accept a "clarification" of the ABM Treaty to allow the United States to test a new heat-seeking interceptor, the Thaad, that could shoot down Scuds.

But that is not good enough for the Pentagon. It wants to keep the option of testing other anti-missile defenses, both sea-based and air-launched. The trouble is, that would open a far more dangerous option than the ABM treaty was intended to close: the testing and deployment of nationwide defenses against ballistic missiles. Such defenses, in turn, could block progress in reducing the size of Russian and American arsenals. That is one option that this administration should not want to open.

To its credit, this administration has rejected the course of its predecessors, which wanted to violate the ABM treaty unilaterally by conducting prohibited tests. Instead, it is trying to clarify the treaty by agreement with Russia. The treaty, as understood when it was ratified by the U.S. Senate, barred tests of interceptors that could shoot down incoming

missiles traveling faster than two kilometers per second. Longer-range missiles — the sort that nationwide defenses are designed to counter — travel much faster. Late last year the administration proposed a more permissive standard, allowing tests of interceptors that can attack targets moving at five kilometers per second. Interceptors with that capability, however, might also be able to defeat submarine-launched ballistic missiles traveling at six to seven kilometers per second, the heart of the U.S., British, French and Russian deterrents.

That capability could be used in nationwide defenses; and the easiest way for countries to counteract it would be to retain more warheads, which would slow further missile cuts.

Russia, which lies within reach of shorter-range missiles fired from Iran, Iraq or other places on its periphery, responded to the U.S. initiative by proposing parameters that permitted tests of the Thaad. But that did not satisfy Pentagon officials, who persuaded the administration to reject the Russian proposal and offer a dangerously permissive alternative: no posted speed limits at all.

If Washington does not set strict limits on tests, it may find that it has opened not just options but a gaping hole in the ABM treaty. That could persuade military hard-liners in Russia to block further missile cuts and leave America a lot less secure.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

'Justice' in Singapore

Americans are sharply divided over the case of an 18-year-old American living in Singapore named Michael Fay. He faces a sentence that includes being "caned" six times. His crime: spray-painting cars and other acts of vandalism over a 10-day period. It is a sign of how angry Americans have become over crime that far from arousing universal protest, the harshness of the sentence has won the Singapore government considerable support in polls and on-the-street interviews. Many Americans are cheering Singapore's leaders for knowing how to get tough on crime.

In turn, Singapore officials revel in contrasting their low crime rates with the terrible American levels of violence. Reportedly a leader in Singapore lectured a recent visitor that a nation that has had the cases of Reginald Denny, Lorena Bobbitt, the Menendez brothers and the murders of visiting Japanese students should be wary of preaching to others about justice. In fact, Americans do not need to be lectured on criminal violence. Americans are as aware as anyone of the need for swift and sure punishment of crime. But none of America's troubles justifies silent acquiescence in the cruel and disproportionate penalty that Mr. Fay faces.

Part of the problem, we suspect, is that

"cane" sounds quaint, something that a 19th-century schoolteacher might administer to a rambunctious student. That is not what caning means in Singapore. The lashes are administered by a martial arts specialist, Philip Sheon of The New York Times cited diplomats who described the gruesome process: "Prisoners are tied down to a wooden trestle and are then whipped with a rattan cane moistened to prevent it from fraying. Diplomats say the initial blows tear open the skin, and, within seconds, prisoners usually go into shock from the intense pain."

It is certainly true that countries with harsh penalties and no constitutional guarantees for those accused of crime can crush criminality with considerable efficiency. Apologists for the old Soviet Union used to note that crime rates in Moscow were lower than those in New York or Detroit. That no more justified Soviet human rights abuses than American shortcomings now justify what the Singapore government proposes to do to Mr. Fay. Nor should Americans worry that opposition to the caning of Mr. Fay amounts to "cultural imperialism." The whole point of upholding human rights across borders and cultures is that certain standards are universal.

— THE WASHINGTON POST

Other Comment

Luring the Zulus on Board

Some observers believe there is too much pent-up anger in South Africa, or large parts of it, to allow for an easy crossing to democracy. They point to the seemingly intractable problems associated with Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's rule, whose Inkatha Freedom Party speaks for an undetermined and conservative section of the Zulus in Natal, and those of Nelson Mandela, who has shown that he has substantial support among Zulus.

The violence in Natal and parts of Transvaal notwithstanding, large sections of the country are in a state of relative peace, causing foreign observers to note that free and fair elections can take place in 90 percent of the country. There is no sign, as of now, that the general fabric of society is collapsing.

There are right-wing Afrikaner desperados in the white community, counting on some measure of support in the security establish-

ment, who have been at work killing black civilians from passing cars, blowing up buildings and campaigning for a boycott of the elections. They are dangerous but finite in numbers, determination and resources.

The history of the Afrikaner, although rich in initial heroism in conflict with giants like the Victorian British Empire, generally shows the bulk of this Dutch-French-German-descended group settling with reality once they appreciate that they cannot win. This could apply in South Africa after April.

The Zulus, by contrast, have tended to fight to the last man against all comers. The threat to the future, therefore, remains the millions of Zulus who might follow Chief Buthe's lead and their malleable king into suicidal opposition to the new order. They have to be lured into a broader, successful South African nationhood. That is the challenge.

— Anthony Hazzler Heard, commenting in the Los Angeles Times

Adrift in the Great Gray Greenless GATT

By Jessica Mathews

WASHINGTON — If the final agreement of the GATT round, to be signed this week in Marrakech, did not promise such large economic gains and represent such an immense expenditure of global diplomatic effort, it would deserve to be rejected on environmental grounds.

The agreement's economic benefits and the political costs of rejection far outweigh its environmental shortcomings. But these shortcomings are still substantial enough to erode much of the enthusiasm for the round's achievements.

During the seven years it took to negotiate the GATT accord, seven global environmental agree-

arrangements for the new World Trade Organization suggest that unless the institution can somehow be brought to drastically change its thinking and its institutional culture, the future is not going to be much better.

The need to mesh trade and environmental policies was recognized too late to be dealt with in the Uruguay Round. The awakening was sparked by the infamous tuna-dolphin decision, which cast doubt on the legitimacy of national environmental laws and even of multilateral agreements that use trade measures. The decision reached the nonsensical view that countries can use trade measures to protect resources, but only when those resources are within their own borders, as though air, water and species stay neatly within the lines on a map.

Because the ruling was so extreme, Mexico, the complainant in the case, chose not to bring it to formal adoption. (Doing so probably would have sunk the North American Free Trade Agreement.) It hangs in limbo over GATT — a decision, but not yet an official precedent.

Environmentalists hoped that the Uruguay Round accord might resolve some of the doubts raised by the case and at least not make things worse until a post-Uruguay "green round." That did not happen. The agreement does not recognize the legitimacy of even the existing global environmental agreements. It tightens rules so that additional national environmental standards can be challenged as illegitimate restraints on trade. It authorizes automatic retaliation by the winning party to such a dispute.

And, as the final evidence that nothing has changed, it failed to create a permanent, standing committee on environment in the core of the new World Trade Organization.

The hope must now be that the lesser committee that was created will reverse past perfor-

mance, recommending strong measures to the next ministerial meeting two years hence. Among the immediate priorities are changing GATT's secretive procedures to allow a degree of public scrutiny and participation, adopting environmental guidelines like the "polluter pays" principle, and finding a way for GATT to recognize present and future environmental agreements that use trade measures appropriately.

Much harder will be deciding in what circumstances trade measures can be used to protect the environment when an international agreement does not exist. Unilateral action is rightly frowned on for undermining international cooperation, but it also goes by the name of leadership. It was the threat of a unilateral U.S. trade sanction, for example, that led to the global ban on the use of destructive drift nets. Outlawing such steps would harness the pace of international progress to that of the slowest marcher.

The political environment for greening GATT is not promising. The United States pushed hard for improvements in this round, but it has not yet thought through or explained to others its trade and environmental goals. The European Union has offered no support, even while its parliament has voted strongly for new policies. Developing countries deeply fear that the developed world will use environmental rationales to block imports of their products, in so-called green protectionism.

The strongest force for progress lies outside governments, among nongovernmental organizations. Only if they can be effectively brought into the process is there much hope of success.

For the past 30 years, international trade has grown twice as fast as the global economy, and it will continue to expand. Difficult as it will be for GATT to change, that fact alone makes the effort a top economic and environmental priority.

The writer, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

The political environment for greening GATT is not promising.

ments were reached. That burst of activity sprang from the rapidly spreading realization that economic growth and human welfare ultimately depend on a healthy environment.

This understanding has penetrated nearly all international institutions to varying degrees, but not GATT. There, free trade is not a means to the end of greater economic growth but the end itself, and environmental concerns are nothing more than impediments.

In fact, the costs of remaining trade restrictions and those of environmental degradation are each about 1 to 2 percent of GDP — except where economic policies are highly distorted or environmental abuse is extreme, as in Russia or China, where estimates run to 15 percent and more of GDP. Rules of free trade and environmental measures are therefore equally necessary to achieve sustainable economic growth.

GATT does not agree. Mostly, it ignores the environment. When it has addressed environmental issues, it has generally shown itself unwilling or unable to take them seriously. The terms of the Uruguay Round agreement and the

A New Bridge for Patient History to Surge Across

By Philip Bowring

BANGKOK — The opening on Friday of the new bridge across the Mekong River, linking Thailand and Laos, is in one sense the symbolic end of an era when ideology divided mainland Southeast Asia between Communists and others. But in another sense it is symbolic of the reassertion of older forces at work in the shaping of the region — ethnicity and geography.

It was no coincidence that while the Thais were warmly greeting their Lao country cousins in the middle of the 1.1 kilometer, \$30 million Australian-funded bridge, the government in Phnom Penh was berating the Thais for allegedly helping the Khmer Rouge to escape from the encirclement of their former headquarters at Pailin.

At the same time, a senior Thai official was publicly blaming the "local government" of a neighboring country for a series of bomb blasts which have disturbed the peace of southern Thailand in recent months.

This was a reference to the Malaysian state of Kelantan, whose fiercely independent and fervently Islamic sultan is at loggerheads with Kuala Lumpur as well as stirring the aspirations of Muslims in Thailand's southernmost provinces.

Visiting Laos for the bridge ceremony was Thailand's King Bhumibol Adulyadej. He was making his first official trip abroad in a quarter of a century, but that did not seem to signify a change in his attitude to foreign travel. Laos does not really count as "abroad." After all, there are more Lao-speakers in Thailand than in Laos.

And if Lao across the Mekong still hanker after a monarch, he is the

nearest one they have since the abolition of the Luang Prabang-based royal house in 1975. Prior to the French arrival, the Lao royalty were effectively vassals of Bangkok anyway — as indeed was the Kelantan sultan prior to the British.

Some Lao may feel that with just 4.5 million people, links with Thailand will simply speed up the exploitation of their forests and other resources. Yet there is no real antidote to that. Not only are the ethnic links compelling, but Thailand's natural

area of economic expansion is to the north, not just into Laos but into southern China.

China's southwestern Yunnan Province is not just familiar territory for Thailand's large ethnic Chinese business community. There are close linguistic and cultural links between Thai and Lao people and the large non-Han minorities in Yunnan. For many in that part of China, foreign investment, if it means anything, will mean investment from, or through, Thailand.

Likewise there are strong ethnic links between the Thais and the Shans (who also until recently had their own little monarchies) of eastern Burma, who in turn feel closer affinity with China, whose emperor is very far away, than with any Rangoon regime.

The north road, down which Thais originally came, is now open again.

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America's Pendulum Should Come Down to Earth

By Fareed Zakaria

NEW YORK — The debate over the sentencing of Michael Fay, the Ohio teenager who vandalized cars in Singapore and faces being flogged on the bare buttocks with a rattan pole, illustrates the precarious balance between order and liberty in the small Asian nation.

Singapore is probably the safest city in the world, albeit at the expense of many individual rights.

Lee Kuan Yew, who ruled as prime minister and virtual dictator for 31 years, took Singapore from poverty to plenty in one generation. Its per capita gross national product is higher than that of its erstwhile colonizer, Britain.

Upon leaving office in 1990, he took the title of senior minister, and he remains enormously influential. He has also embarked on a career of sorts as a pundit, speaking his mind with impish frankness. In January, I interviewed him.

Do you view the United States as a model for other countries?

I find attractive and unattractive features. I like the free, easy and open relations between people regardless of social status, ethnicity or religion.

And the things I have always admired about America: the openness in argument about what is good or bad for society; the accountability of public officials and the lack of secrecy and terror that are part and parcel of Communist government.

But as a total system, I find parts of it totally unacceptable: guns, drugs, violent crime, vagrancy, unbecoming behavior in public — in sum, the breakdown of civil society. The expansion of the right of the individual to behave or misbehave as he pleases has come at the expense of orderly society.

In the East, the main object is to have a well-ordered society so that everybody can have maximum enjoyment of his freedoms. This freedom can only exist in an ordered state and not in a natural state of contention and anarchy.

Let me give you an example that encapsulates the whole difference between America and Singapore. America has a vicious drug problem. How does it solve it? It goes around the world helping other anti-narcotic agencies to try and stop the suppliers. It pays for helicopters, debriefing agents and so on. When it is provoked, it captures the president of Panama and brings him to trial in Florida.

Singapore does not have that op-

tion. We can't go to Burma and capture warlords. What we can do is pass a law which says that any customs officer or policeman who sees anyone in Singapore behaving suspiciously, leading him to suspect that the person is under the influence of drugs, can require that person to have his urine tested. If the sample is found to contain drugs, the man immediately goes for treatment. In America, if you did that it would be an invasion of the individual's rights and you would be sued.

I was interested to read that Colin Powell, when he was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said the U.S. military followed our approach because when a recruit signs up he agrees to be tested.

Now, I would have thought this kind of approach would be quite an effective way to deal with the terrible drug problem you have. But the idea of the inviolability of the individual has been turned into dogma.

And yet nobody minds when the army captures the president of another state and puts him in jail. I find that incomprehensible. This approach will not solve America's drug problem.

Whereas with Singapore's way, we may not solve it, but we will lessen it considerably, as we have done.

Would it be fair to say that you admired America more 25 years ago? What, in your view, went wrong?

Yes, things have changed. I would hazard a guess that it has a lot to do with the erosion of the moral underpinnings of a society and the diminution of personal responsibility.

The liberal, intellectual tradition that developed after World War II claimed that human beings had arrived at this perfect state where everybody would be better off if they were allowed to do their own thing and flourish. It has not worked out, and I doubt that it will. Certain basics about human nature do not change.

Man needs a certain moral sense of right and wrong. There is such a thing called evil, and it is not the result of being a victim of society.

You are just an evil man, prone to do evil things, and you have to be stopped from doing an ethical basis for society, believing that all problems are solvable by a good government, which we in the East never believed possible.

Is such a fundamental shift in culture irreversible?

No, it is a swing of the pendulum. I think it will swing back. I don't know how long it will take, but there's already a backlash in America against failed social policies that have resulted in people urinating in public, in aggressive begging in the streets, in social breakdown.

You say that your real concern is that this system not be foisted on other societies because it will not work there. Is there another viable model for political and economic development? Is there an "Asian model"?

I don't think there is an Asian model as such. But Asian societies are unlike Western ones. The fundamental difference between Western concepts of society and government and East Asian concepts is that Eastern societies believe that the individual exists in the context of his family.

He is not pristine and separate. The family is part of the extended family, and then friends and the wider society. The ruler or the government does not try to provide for a person what the family best provides.

In the West, especially after World War II, the government came to be seen as so successful that they could fulfill all the obligations that in less modern societies are fulfilled by the family. This approach encouraged alternative families, single mothers for instance, believing that government could provide the support to make up for the absent father.

This is a bold, Huxleyan view of life but one from which I as an East Asian stay away. I would be afraid to experiment with it. I'm not sure what the consequences are, and I don't like the consequences that I see in the West. You will find this view widely shared in East Asia.

It's not that we don't have single mothers here. We are also caught in the same social problems of change when we educate our women and they become independent financially and no longer need to put up with unhappy marriages.

But there is grave disquiet when we break away from tested norms, and the tested norm is the family unit. It is the building brick of society.

Governments will come, governments will go, but this endures. We start with self-reliance. In the West today it is the opposite. The govern-

ment says give me a popular mandate and I will solve all society's problems. What would you do instead to address America's problems?

What would I do if I were an American? First, you must have order in society. Guns, drugs and violent crime all go together, threatening social order.

Then the schools — when you have violence in schools, you are not going to have education, so you've got to put that right.

Then you have to educate rigorously and train a whole generation of skilled, intelligent, knowledgeable people who can be productive.

I would start off with basics, working on the individual, looking at him within the context of his family, his friends, his society.

But the Westerner says: "I'll fix things at the top. One major formula, one grand plan. I will wave a wand and everything will work out."

It's an interesting theory but not a proven method.

Fareed Zakaria is managing editor of Foreign Affairs. This was adapted by The New York Times from a longer article in the magazine's current issue.

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No More Appeasing The Serbs?

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON — At long last the United States and its allies have shown some courage and resolve in the face of brazen Serbian aggression. The air strikes on Serbian forces attacking Gorazde are late, far too late. But they could mark an end to the bewildering policy of weakness that followed the Sarajevo ultimatum at the end of February.

Few acts of foreign policy have been as dramatically successful as the U.S.-inspired NATO ultimatum to the besieging Serbs to stop shelling Sarajevo. The guns were silenced, and a terrorized city returned to something like normal life.

Success in Sarajevo demonstrated what critics have been saying: that the Serbian aggressors would yield to credible threats of force. But instead of building on that lesson to stop terror elsewhere in Bosnia, the Clinton administration waffled.

The Serbs, emboldened, resumed their killing.

Defense Secretary William Perry made himself the spokesman for weakness. When the Serbs shelled Maglaj in northwest Bosnia, he said that "close-combat fighting" there and elsewhere was "difficult to influence with the use of air power."

General John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, echoed that by saying that conditions around Sarajevo "lent themselves to the application of air power," but they did not "in any other places in Bosnia today."

Those comments took an amazingly constricted view of air power. A main argument for its use has been to make the Serbs understand that if they go on killing and terrorizing people, they will feel some punishment themselves.

In the face of the merciless shelling and siege of Maglaj, NATO should have said something like this to the Bosnian Serb military commander, Ratko Mladic: "For every shell that falls on Maglaj, 10 bombs will be dropped on your military headquarters in Pale. Every time you block relief supplies, we will knock out one of your fuel or munitions dumps."

Last week, as the Serbs mounted a major artillery and ground attack on the enclave of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia, Mr. Perry was asked on NBC's "Meet the Press" what he would do to keep the city from being captured. He answered: "We will not enter the war to stop that from happening."

The attack on Gorazde was, and is, an especially blatant challenge to the credibility of NATO and the United Nations. For last year the UN Security Council designated Gorazde as one of six "safe areas" that would be protected by "all necessary means, including the use of force." Mr. Perry's hand-washing gesture on Gorazde was a virtual invitation to the Serbs to intensify their attacks, and so they did.

On Thursday of last week the administration changed its tack. President Bill Clinton's national security adviser, Anthony Lake, made a serious speech about Bosnia. "America cannot afford to ignore conflicts in Europe," he said. The Serbs had plunged Bosnia into "a dark night of terror," conducting "brutal sieges and ethnic cleansing." Today the war there "presents a clear challenge to NATO's credibility and to our very vision of a post-Cold War Europe."

Mr. Lake said "we must make clear to Serbia and to the Serbs of Bosnia that the costs of continued intransigence are high." And he said neither Mr. Clinton nor his senior advisers — Mr. Perry's warning notwithstanding — had ruled out "the use of NATO power to help stop attacks such as those against Gorazde."

Strong words. But words alone have never persuaded General Mladic or the other Bosnian Serb aggressors to desist. They went ahead with a massive assault designed, as General Vlado Sprenko said, to "occupy the entire region of Gorazde."

It was when the situation was desperate for the defenders of Gorazde that the UN command called for NATO air strikes. The first were not withdrawn at once, the next should be on strategic targets.

Now we should see whether the American warning is over; the waning of the last seven weeks of the year before that and of the year before that under George Bush.

President Clinton will have the country's support if at long last he sets it on a clear, consistent, credible course of action to stop Serbian aggression and terror.

The New York Times

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1894: Uganda Fighting

LONDON — The following despatch from Uganda reached London yesterday [April 11]: "Colonel Colville has declared war upon Kaba Rega, the most powerful chief in this region and one invariably hostile to Europeans." The British East Africa Company had often threatened to attack Kaba Rega, but never did so. This savage chief therefore thought they were afraid to try. He declared the company's officers white-livered, and regarded himself as invincible. A few weeks ago Kaba Rega attacked a chief, one of the British allies at Toru. The chief applied to the British for aid, and Major Owen was sent with 200 Nubian soldiers. They encountered the enemy, estimated at about one thousand men. The fight lasted three hours when the enemy fled.

1919: Geneva Selected

PARIS — By twelve votes to six the Commission of the League of Na-

tions has chosen Geneva to be the seat of the League of Nations. Geneva was the personal choice of President Wilson, and it was supported by Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Serbia, Greece, Roumania and Brazil. Brussels, proposed by the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Paul Hymans, obtained also the votes of France, China, Portugal and Czechoslovakia.

1944: Assassination Fails

MEXICO CITY — [From our New York edition:] An army lieutenant, a member of his own police staff, attempted to assassinate President Manuel Avila Camacho today [April 10], but the bullet he fired at six-foot range passed through the President's coat directly above his heart without wounding him. Avila Camacho, with the courage of an ex-army man, saved his life by lunging at the assailant, Army lieutenant Antonio E. de Lama, and holding his arms stiff until an aid disarmed him.

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OPINION

The Clintons' Big Killing Needs Checking, as Well

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — Every scandal has its pulse. Whitewater has entered a quiescent stage. As investigators dig deeper, previous revelations sink in.

Let's say I want to make an untraceable investment in a political figure. How could I launder the donation and even get a tax deduction for it?

I might find a broker willing to "allocate" trades in the futures market — that is, to put in orders to buy and sell at the same time. He could then allocate the winning trade to my political friend and the losing trade to some poor sucker, or even to me: I would then take my losses on the down side of the "straddle," using them to reduce taxable gains from other trades.

In that way, a pol or his wife could make a bundle with no risk and little or nominal capital. The pol gets rich on reportable profits, while I have laundered — effectively hidden — my contribution to him.

This beats slipping cash under the table. Not only is my political friend's newly "made" money usable for other investments, the transaction is too complicated to outrage most voters.

Some mean-spirited partisans are advancing that hypothesis — with no evidence offered in this case — as a possible explanation of Hillary Rodham Clinton's ability to turn \$1,000 (at most) into \$100,000 in a single year.

That's a 10,000 percent return on her investment, more than just about any other investor in America in 1979. (Fair-

minded observers will adjust for inflation; that makes hers a 9,987 percent return.) The Clintons reject the sinister inference being drawn by slandering hounds of the press (especially the editorial page of *The Wall Street Journal*, which knows too much about straddles and futures). At first, the White House line was that the Clinton 100 Gs — some of which was later murky invested in tax-sheltering Whitewater — was the result of phenomenal investment acumen by a lawyer then still in her 20s.

Sunday, backpedaling Clinton aides admitted to *The Washington Post* that James Blair, lawyer to Tyson poultry interests, did the cattle-futures ordering in her behalf. (That is probably because the broker, Robert Rod Bone, told other reporters that Mrs. Clinton was a stranger to him.) Soon after the 9,987 percent profit, Mr. Bone was suspended for three years for the preferential way he handled trades and margin requirements.

Maybe Mr. Blair and Mr. Bone operated entirely within the law, and the Clintons received only good advice — and not what some of us leap to opine was in effect a \$100,000 gift.

The special counsel may not be following leads into these new areas. How can the public discover the truth? The answer: from sworn testimony in congressional hearings.

Speaker Thomas Foley and Banking Chairman Henry Gonzalez are succeeding in their stone-walling in the Democratic House. They expect counsel Robert Fiske to make a finding of suicide in Vincent Foster's death, rebuking only mildly the obfuscation of White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum, who chose Mr. Fiske. The speaker will then declare hearings unnecessary.

In the Senate, however, Republican leader Bob Dole is seeking an agreement with majority leader George Mitchell specifying a proposed makeup and timing of the investigating committee. The experienced fraud squad on Senator Sam Nunn's government operations staff should be Mr. Bone's interlocutor. Hearings on confirmation of a Supreme Court justice could be held up until Whitewater hearings are under way.

Why pursue this "old story" to its source? Because when Whitewater was first exposed by *The New York Times* in early 1992, candidate Bill Clinton effectively squelched it with a legal-accounting "report" that was at least misleading, and may turn out to be a tissue of lies. If so, President Clinton should be held accountable.

The pulse beats on: the mortification of civil penalties, not impeachment, may be in store.

Would it weaken this presidency? Sadly, yes. But for one-party government to condone a campaign cover-up would damage the American system far worse — which is why the truth about Whitewater must be flushed out.

The New York Times



By TURNER in *The Irish Times* (Dublin). C&W Syndicate

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Marching Into a Squeeze

Regarding the report "China Seizes Leading Dissident, Setting Stage for New Rights Friction" (April 2):

While the seizure of Wei Jingsheng was repugnant, the setting of the stage for new friction was not the doing of the Chinese and their predictable behavior toward dissidents; rather the blame belongs squarely on the doorstep of the United States and its secretary of state.

With a scintilla of foresight, Warren Christopher could easily have avoided the uncomfortable squeeze and embarrassment brought to himself and his country during his recent trip to China. The barest of social graces prevents marching into another's home to demand that the resident must conform to our idea of world order. If we don't like what our host stands for, we don't go; but if we go we must abide by the rules of civility and diplomacy.

As a paid practitioner of diplomacy, Mr. Christopher is well advised to refresh his memory of its definition: skill in handling affairs without arousing hostility. As the results indicate, lacking were forethought, perspective, skill and manners. Is it hard to guess how the United States would react if a Chinese leader did the same in Washington?

LAWRENCE R. GORDON,
Paris

Aspirations of the Zulus

Regarding the editorial "The Troublemaking Chief" (April 1):

This editorial is an unwise apprecia-

tion of the situation in South Africa. As an undemocratic, racially divided, artificially constituted union moves toward fulfillment for its various peoples, why should the Zulus not aspire to regain their nationhood as did the peoples of the former Soviet Union?

PETER W. MURPHY,
Le Muid,
Switzerland

Painful Choices

"Torture" and "dictatorship" are harsh words, and William Safire (*"Singapore's Assertion of a Right to Torture Is Intolerable," Opinion, April 8*) uses them well in his eloquent condemnation of Singapore's flagging laws.

He paints a broad landscape filled with sweeping historical metaphors — from the Spanish Inquisition and Nazi atrocities to the plight of Kurds under Saddam Hussein — all in defense of his own arbitrary distinction that flogging is intolerable while death from legal injection is not.

He dismisses the overwhelming support of both Singaporeans and Americans for the caning sentence as an over-reaction by those who have had their antennae ripped off their cars. Surely Americans are outraged at something more than a few broken car antennae. They are outraged at the senseless violence, easy drugs and wasted lives that pervade all levels of their society today.

Mr. Safire is concerned with abstract principles drawn from his own Judeo-Christian upbringing but fails to understand the painful choices that societies

Bottoming Out in the Mud Season

By Christopher B. Daly

PUTNEY, Vermont — Across the northern half of New England, from Vermont's Lake Champlain to Maine's potato country, it's just about time for the next season of the year: the one called Mud Season.

After the faded foliage of fall, after all the snow and ice of winter, after months and months of long nights and short days, after all the boots, hats, mittens and long johns and the frozen water pipes, after what turned out this year to be record colds and record snows — after all that, just when the rest of the world is snipping forsythia and planting tomatoes, along comes Mud.

Up here, that doesn't mean just a little bit of mud. Mud Season means real mud: the kind of boot-sucking, scraggling, carpet-wrecking, supersaturated muck that just gobbles up two-wheel-drive imports driven by flatlanders from Boston or New York.

"Mud Season is a notation of Nature, not of the calendar," writes the farmer and essayist Richard M. Ketchum in his book, "Second Curings: Letters from the Country." Mud, Mr. Ketchum adds, "describes an interval of indeterminable duration between winter and spring. It has none of spring's tripperies or fall's harlot colors, none of winter's white

mantle or summer's lushness. The going is sloppy and slow, the ground underfoot soggy and treacherous."

Mud Season seems to hold its tightest grip on Vermont, a world of steep hills and dirt roads where traction is next to godliness this month. In early April, just getting the mail can be an adventure.

The science of mud is pretty straightforward. The ground freezes during the cold New England winter anywhere from two to four or more feet down. The depth of the freeze depends largely on

MEANWHILE

the lateness of the winter's first snow, since snow insulates the soil. The later the first snow, the deeper the freeze.

When warmer weather finally returns, the ground slowly thaws out from the top down. The bottom layer of frozen soil acts like a giant saucer, trapping any moisture above it.

On the surface, meanwhile, three to six feet of snow is melting and spring rains are pounding down. Combined, they produce a tremendous amount of water with nowhere to go. When it mixes with New England's fine-grained soil, the result is serious mud.

Of the five seasons of the year, Mud muck and stains, the melting snow reveals all of the winter's animal droppings and whatever other detritus has lain buried and frozen all winter.

So far at least, Mud Season has proved immune to cuteness. There are no mud festivals, no mud queens or mudslinging contests.

It does have its own not-so-dry humor. Dick Swetitsch, a folklorist at the University of Vermont, collects mud jokes like this one:

Two farmers are sitting on a front porch looking out at a muddy road. All of a sudden they see a hat belonging to another neighbor, Frank, come sliding down the road. They go to investigate and lift the hat from the road.

Sure enough, there's Frank underneath, moving steadily through the mud. "No problem," says Frank. "I'm on my horse!"

One Vermont farmer who knows his mud is Frank Bryan. A political scientist at the University of Vermont in Burlington, resident of a dirt road and co-author of "Real Vermonters Don't Milk Goats," he says the biggest danger is "bottoming out."

That is the term for what happens when a motor vehicle (usually a rear-wheel-drive sedan) meets more mud than it can handle.

"You get in so much mud that you are sitting on the axles. There is no bottom. You are just floating," Mr. Bryan explained.

To drive through mud, he said, "You've got to drive like hell." You just stay in low gear and floor it.

"It's just the opposite of driving in snow. A lot of flatlanders don't have

the guts for it," Mr. Bryan said in an interview in which he unsuccessfully tried to stifle a chortle.

"It's a bit like driving on train tracks. There's a rut where somebody else has gone through the mud."

"You try to stay in the ruts. Sometimes, the rear wheels get in one rut and the front gets in another and you kind of go sideways."

Not surprisingly, a lot of things besides cars come a halt during Mud. Many towns forbid hauling logs by truck because the weight wrecks roads when they are muddy. Loggers often have to stop cutting trees, because mills will not accept mud-covered timber; it gups up their saws.

But it can be a busy time of year nonetheless.

Not by accident, this is the time of year when New England villages hold their annual town meetings. Long ago, Yankees decided to jam all their government and politics into one daylong binge, timed to take place just before the roads became impassable with mud.

It is also maple sugar time. When the nights are cold and the days are warm, sap rises in the giant maple trees, and New Englanders tap the trees to gather the sap. The sap is collected and boiled to make the maple syrup for a hungry nation's pancakes.

And it's the time of year when sheep drop their new lambs.

Mr. Bryan described what happened one night when he and his wife tried to make it home up Big Hollow Road in Starkboro:

"We bottomed out. So what I did was get out and put the jack under the back bumper. Instead of the car going up, the jack disappears, down into the mud. If you're lucky enough to hit something hard, you jack it up a few inches, then run around to the other side and push the car off the jack."

"Remember, it's cold . . . and you've got your good shoes on. Your wife holds the flashlight, and you fish around underneath the bumper for the jack. Then you run around to the front and repeat the process."

"You are literally trying to walk the car across the road, looking for a rut you can use."

Greg Winchester, who works the tow truck at Rod's Mobil in Putney, says he gets as many as four calls a day at the height of Mud Season, especially on weekends when tourists are likely to be on the roads.

But natives bottom out, too. "It's more guys that get stuck, because they think they can make it," he said. Once, even his wrecker got stuck and needed a tow.

Sometimes, the old ways are best. Mr. Bryan says that when all else fails, he hitches up the oxen. Nothing has stopped them yet.

"It's a hopeful time of year," Mr. Bryan adds. "Because if Mud Season comes, can spring be far behind? Vermonters can sense spring the way mariners can sense land."

The Washington Post

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President Clinton
State of the Union Address
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Hawthorn and Horsetail French Fashion in Herbal Remedies

By Marlene Simons
New York Times Service

PARIS — Presiding over a great assembly of 500 kinds of plants, Michel Pierre has to watch his words. He cannot call them medicines or use terms like curing or healing. Yet this herbalist in the old heart of Paris knows exactly where to turn when an ailment needs a remedy.

"Red vine leaves, good for the circulation," he said, beaming. Navigating among baskets stuffed with leaves and bowls full of seeds, he offered marigold to clear the skin, horsetail to soothe a client's rheumatism and hawthorn to calm the nerves. "Cholesterol?" Pierre said. "Make a tea of this American chrysanthemum. Or else of artichoke leaves."

Botany has virtually disappeared from the curriculum of France's medical and pharmacy students, and the country's mighty pharmaceutical industry has moved ever deeper into synthetic drugs and biotechnology.

Yet more and more Frenchmen and women, tens of thousands of them, are taking herbs. The French, along with their devotion to food, also love potions and remedies and they swallow up to three times more stimulants and sedatives than their European neighbors. But these days, they are turning again to old herbal concoctions to help their digestion, sleep, jangled nerves and abused livers.

Grocers and health food stores report that sales of medicinal herbs have doubled in less than 10 years. While plants were always the mainstay of medications, chemistry made it possible to isolate and copy them in the laboratory. Pharmacies have joined the trend by selling capsules and infusions filled with natural plant powders.

"For the last 30 years, the chemical drugs had made such great progress that people had forgotten about plants," said Jean Guillin, president of the national Association of Pharmacists. "Now there's a return to plants because we remember that they act gently and may be less invasive than chemically based medicines."

While not powerful enough for serious diseases, he added, "for some ailments the healing dose in a plant can be enough."

Herbal medicine is only part of the country's growing movement toward a less high-tech approach to treating the sick. As in other European countries, there is a rising interest in France in alternative and preventive medicine.

The annual Fair of Alternative Medicine, in Paris, which has become the largest exhibition of its kind in Europe, drew 50,000 visitors last month.

Among the therapies on display — most of them outside conventional medicine — were gently rocking beds for relaxation, music that can produce natural opiates in the brain, and bee glue used as antiseptic.

Adepts recommended healing through magnetism, acupuncture and homeopathy, among other methods. "This is more about the art than about the science of medicine," said Renate Fournier, one of the organizers. "Many people feel that medicine has become too cold, too mechanical."

The fair, which began 11 years ago, has really taken off in the last two years, she added, noting that with help from the government Bureau for Consumer Affairs, organizers had weeded out charlatans.

In the great crowded hall, visited by doctors, therapists, and ordinary people, Fournier said she saw evidence that methods that only recently were dismissed as too old-fashioned or too esoteric were now slowly finding their way into mainstream medicine.

Regine Simonet, the editor of the magazine *Médecine Douce* (circulation 100,000), holds that the growing interest in natural health care is linked to people's fears — fear of dependency and side effects of synthetic drugs, fear of too many chemicals in the environment and in one's own body, fear of losing even more contact with nature.

France's powerful medical association has opposed recognition even of therapists now widely licensed in the West, like chiropractors, osteopaths and acupuncturists. Proposals on recognition have also been held back by the Parliament, where 62 of the 577 deputies are members of the medical profession.

The Ministry of Health, while siding with the doctors and the \$16-billion-a-year pharmaceutical industry on most issues, is nonetheless quietly promoting some natural therapies not seen as threatening the medical establishment. It has licensed many new thermal spas and centers for thalassotherapy, which use algae and warm seawater to invigorate health and soothe stress and aches.

Going to thermal spas, an ancient tradition here, has never been so popular. In 1993, one in nine citizens went to one of France's 104 officially recognized spas.

In Paris, a recent survey found that one in five households now use herbal remedies. Even at elegant Parisian dinner tables, chances are that an "infusion" of verbena, linden or mint appears to dispatch a meal.

Proof that herbs are an expanding business is the fact that pharmacies, health food stores, and supermarkets are all squabbling over a piece of the market, with pharmacies demanding a monopoly over most therapeutic plants. Producers say this is all good news.

Michel Dupuis, selling herbs at a recent Paris health food fair, said that on his farm at Doue-la-Fontaine he now grows five tons a year, twice as much as 10 years ago. Planting, weeding and harvesting, he said with pride, is done by 40 handicapped workers who had never before had a job. "Herbs can do so much good," Dupuis said, noting he had just killed off a lurking cold with a thick brew of thyme.

The French are turning again to old concoctions to help nerves and livers.

A New Nose in Perfume

By Jean Rafferty

PARIS — Patricia de Nicolai is the hot new name in the rarefied world of French fragrance. And as a great-granddaughter of the legendary perfumer Pierre Guerlain, she's a hot old name too.

The French film star Isabelle Adjani swears by her Citronnelle Vanille (Vanilla Twilight) scented candle. Her new Sacrebleu! is the actress Michèle Morgan's favorite. Not only is the writer Frédéric Dard mad about New York, her spicy men's fragrance, but his fictional characters also trail the elegant wake of her perfumes in his San Antonio books.

What sends this celebrity clientele flocking to her two Paris shops — one next to her atelier in the 16th arrondissement (69 Avenue Raymond Poincaré), the other on the Left Bank (80 Rue Grenelle) — is the originality of Nicolai's compositions. Sacrebleu!, which has soared into best-sellerdom since its launch

in September, is an opulent mélange of vanilla and incense, coriander and patchouli, black-currant buds, cinnamon and jasmine.

Fragrances like Le Temps d'une Fête (deliciously floral and fruity with cassia, jasmine and orange blossom, ylang-ylang and sandalwood), Mimosa (like an armful of mimosa), Odalisque (a powdery, green blend with "an enormous amount of iris") and Grandes Vacances (a young, floral scent with cinnamon and lime) demonstrate her signature style. Her packaging, too, is exceptional: Parfums de Nicolai are bottled in silver-stoppered, handblown colored glass or crystal flacons that can be personalized with engraving.

A mother of three young sons and a 6-month-old daughter, the 36-year-old perfumer has also designed the perfect baby present: an eau de bébé called Petit Ange, which is a breezy blend of grapefruit, lilac and vanilla. For special clients, she will create a personalized perfume. And her prices are very competitive.

Nicolai's success is the result of creativity and an insistence on top-quality natural products. The latter she puts down to growing up in the heady atmosphere of the great Guerlain scents like Shalimar and L'Heure Bleue.

After training in Grasse and working for an international perfume development group, she formed her own company with her husband, Jean-Louis Michan, an economist, four years ago.

"I make all my fragrances myself, buying all the raw materials," she said. "That is the big difference, the way you control both quality and margins."

"It's a renewal of the old traditions of French perfume houses. Of the big names, only Guerlain, Chanel and Paton still work this way with in-house perfumers."

"Jean-Paul Guerlain [the current 'nose'], who is a gastronome, compares it to the difference between cooking at home and using a cater-

er. It is going to be definitely better and with the money you save, you can buy expensive ingredients like truffles."

She describes her own fragrance style as "refined, elegant, and with a certain discretion." Her perfumes indulge, but don't overwhelm the senses. "We have almost forgotten fragrance should smell good, not just strong," she says.

Though the base note of the fragrance is her first priority, she says a kicky top note is indispensable. "It's the first smell when you spray it on the wrist," she said. "In the seconds that follow, the client must be instantly seduced."

The base note, which is revealed after several minutes and is the fragrance that lingers, is even more vital. "That's what makes the client come back and buy again," she says.

DESIGNING a winner isn't easy. Sacrebleu! took two years to create. "I wanted a grand perfume with an Oriental vanilla note," she said, "but not too heavy, obvious or sickly. I had something very good, but too basic. I needed a top note to fuse the compositions and I had a lot of trouble."

With the help of a friend, the perfumer François Robert at Dragoco, she found the solution: "a light note with a touch of raspberry, peach and apricot, and then I added a fruity jasmine." The result, she says happily, "is the kind of star perfume that only happens once in 10 years."

Promoting fragrances from a small house isn't easy, either. In addition to Paris, the Parfums de Nicolai have limited distribution elsewhere in Europe, including Liberty's and Harrods in London, as well as in Tokyo, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Using the success of Sacrebleu! as a springboard, Nicolai is currently talking to Saks in the United States and plans a major expansion in France.

"Our goal is to be one of the top 10 French fragrances in the next five years," says Michan.

Jean Rafferty is a Paris-based journalist who specializes in design and lifestyle.



The Comeback of Glamour New Materials for the New Woman

By Suzy Menkes
International Herald Tribune

NEW YORK — The death of Kurt Cobain tells the passing of a fashion era. Three seasons ago, American fashion plunged into grunge — the scruffy, don't-care style that the Seattle rock star symbolized.

Now New York designers have found a new Nirvana for the 1990s: glamour. The shows are all in their different ways about redefining feminine allure.

You can read that message on the glossy lips of the onetime waif model Kate Moss, who has now gained a

knitted top and fleeced skirt. The show swung about, from its trim tailoring that brought an admiral's jacket and matelot pants, to soft tunic and pants in painted velvets. But Moss stayed the course.

Oscar de la Renta's show was glamorous — but was it modern? The paisley and cheetah-print coat that opened the show summed up the elaborate richness of the collection.

Fake fur is a hot story in the New York season, and de la Renta had Persian lamb trimming black crepe (not to mention hems dangling with fringe and tassels). It was all part of a vaguely Eastern exotic theme that stamped paisley prints on anything from wool to chiffon to painted velvet, and included those floating catwalks that mythical business wear at home. Such familiar luxury needs to be re-invented.

Zoran can claim to have given a new interpretation to luxury by giving his simple clothes richness of texture that is felt rather than flaunted. Showing downtown in an airy loft, his take on glamour means ease instead of tease. Nothing in the collection gripped the body. Instead, a top would stand away at the waist above narrow pants or the short sarong skirts that were the basis of the collection.

The mix was of "dry" and "wet" fabrics — gauzy cashmere or organza with slithering satin or the softest gray alpaca. Tonic effects included a hooded poncho, its hem dipping and diving. Zoran enriches minimalism without ever making it look showy.

In a different way, Calvin Klein, another disciple of minimalism, took his sporty CK line upscale. The show may have opened with casual plaid separates, but polished makeup and tidy ponytailed hair gave the clothes a discreet elegance. Klein also introduced among the brief A-line skirts the over-the-knee length that may turn out to be the new silhouette of the season. In proportion to a finger-tip length jacket, with a tailored pea coat or Argyle-checked hose, and as a take on the "little black dress," the clothes had a grown-up gracefulness.

There is no more out-of-date glamour than a colored brasserie uplifting a see-through dress. That was the unfortunate image created by the London company Ghost, which tried much too hard — like so many other minor designers — to fill the big runway in New York's fashion tents.

The downtown shows, showing capsule collections in small and interesting venues, were the highlight of the weekend. For these designers — mostly women — hemlines are long, the silhouette soft, colors natural and the currency is modern romance.

The Nigerian-born Lola Faturoti offered African Victorians — all tree-bark and dust-bowl browns for graceful long clothes that mixed limp satin with fuzzy mohair. Shoes crackled with old wax and gentle long dresses in rustic fabrics proclaimed J. Morgan Pucci's origins from a family of beekeepers in Georgia. The two-woman team behind Milfu harked back to their Romanian origins for peasant-inspired clothes in canvas and calico.

The downtown clothes echo the Belgian new-wave designers and are part of an international underground that is rejecting brash modernity in favor of quirky romance and that focuses on nature and concerns for the environment.

The ultimate statement was made by Sylvia Heisel. Among her collection of minimalist glamour — shiny cheongsam rubber dresses and tough nylon coats in astronomical fabric — was a hot-pink coat. It was made from a material that absorbs ultraviolet rays until it turns gray within three months. Glamour fashion with a caring face.

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Top row: Laura Whitcomb's bunny with corset sweater and fluffy skirt; Oscar de la Renta's faux cheetah and paisley print; and Marc Jacobs's shapely shearing with glitter sweater and hologram pants; below, Calvin's Klein over-the-knee black dress for his CK line and Bill Blass's military jacket and pants.

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Belize (PTT pay phones)	44	△ El Salvador	191	△ Korea	009-46	Panama	115	△ Singapore	8000-177-177
△ Bermuda	1-800-623-0877	△ Finland	9800-1-0284	△ Latvia	530-2055	△ Paraguay	0084-12-800	△ South Africa	0-800-99-0001
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MARKET DIARY

Inflation Outlook Brightens Stocks

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
NEW YORK — Expectations for government data due this week to show inflation under control gave a lift Monday to the stock market and Treasury bond prices.

The Dow Jones industrial average closed up 14.57 points at 3,688.33, while advancing issues

since December, dragged down by lower prices for wheat, cattle, lumber and precious metals.

Drug companies and regional banking stocks led stock-market gains. But a slump in semiconductor stocks pulled the Nasdaq index of over-the-counter issues 0.42 point, to 748.29.

First Chicago Corp. gained 3 1/4 to 53 1/4 after saying it expected first-quarter earnings to meet or better last year's results.

Student Loan Marketing Association, the purchaser and servicer of student loans, rose 1 to 43 1/4 after reporting an increase in first-quarter earnings that was in line with expectations.

On the Big Board's most-active list, Citicorp rose 1 to 51 1/4. Johnson & Johnson gained 1 1/4 to 38 1/4 after Peter Lynch, a trustee of Fidelity Management, said the drug maker had a particularly bright future because it was spending \$1.2 billion on research and development and was starting to cut costs.

The semiconductor stocks were hit by concern about March sales. Jack Geraghty, analyst at CS First Boston, lowered his rating on 17 semiconductor and chip equipment makers' stocks to hold from buy.

(Bloomberg, AP)

U.S. Stocks

outnumbered declines by 9-to-8 ratio on the New York Stock Exchange.

The price of the benchmark U.S. 30-year bond rose 10/32 point to 88 2/32, while the yield slipped to 7.23 percent from 7.26 percent Friday.

"There is a certain degree of optimism that perhaps the worst of the sell-off is behind us," said James Solloway, research director at Argus Research.

Government reports on producer and consumer prices for March, set for release on Tuesday and Wednesday, will be closely watched for hints on whether the Federal Reserve Board will push up the interest rate on overnight loans between banks for a third time this year to stave off inflation.

A slump in commodity prices also took the sting out of any inflation fears. The Commodity Research Bureau's index of 21 commodity prices fell to the lowest level

since December, dragged down by lower prices for wheat, cattle, lumber and precious metals.

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(Bloomberg, AP)

DOLLAR: Trade Woes Lift Yen

Continued from Page 9

News of substantial currency trading losses at Kasumi Oil Co. also weighed on the dollar because it spurred speculation the company would have to close out its long dollar/short yen positions.

Concerns that other Japanese importers could face similar problems, further undermining the dollar, spurred selling of the U.S. unit.

The dollar was buoyed against the mark by expectations that the

minimal and offer no reason to deviate from current monetary policy.

Interest in selling the dollar against European currencies was blunted somewhat by weakened UN air strikes against the Muslim enclave of Gorazde. The U.S. currency is often considered a stable place to park funds during times of political upheaval in other countries.

Elsewhere, the South African rand tumbled on concern that racial instability could spur a flight of capital from the country. South Africa will hold its first multiracial elections on April 26-28. On Friday, the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, refused to call off the Zulu boycott of the elections.

The dollar strengthened to 5.75 financial rand, which foreign investors use to buy South African assets, from 5.06 financial rand Friday.

The U.S. dollar also rose against the Canadian dollar after Moody's Investors Service Inc. said Friday it might lower its rating on Canada's foreign-currency debt, making it more expensive for the country to borrow money. Standard & Poor's Corp. has already lowered its Canadian debt ratings.

The U.S. dollar finished at 1.3863 Canadian dollars, compared with 1.3836 Friday.

(AFX, Bloomberg, APF)

Foreign Exchange

Bundesbank will cut its securities repurchase rate later this week. The German central bank has been allowing the money market rate to slide and investors have interpreted that as a signal that cuts in other key rates, such as the Lombard rate, will follow.

"The dollar would probably be a lot higher against the Deutsche mark if it wasn't getting beat up so badly against the yen," said Paul Farrell, manager of strategic currency trading at Chase Manhattan Bank.

The Bundesbank president, Hans Tietmeyer, said at a meeting of central bankers from the Group of 10 leading industrial countries that short-term inflationary risks are

minimal and offer no reason to deviate from current monetary policy.

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(AFX, Bloomberg, APF)

The Dow

Daily closing prices and changes
Dow Jones Industrial Average

Index: 3688.33 (+14.57)
Points: 14.57
Change: +0.40%

High: 3690.00
Low: 3680.00
Open: 3680.00
Close: 3688.33

Volume: 1,200,000,000
Turnover: \$100,000,000,000

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April 11, 1994

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SPORTS

Jordan's Struggle With a Whole New Ball Game Is for His Father

By Ira Berkow
New York Times Service

HOOVER, Alabama — Every morning when he wakes up, Michael Jordan is saying, he sees the face of his dead father, James. Every morning, as he did Saturday morning when he rose from bed in his hotel room here, he has a conversation with his father, his greatest supporter, his regular companion, his dearest and most trusted friend.

"I talk to him more in the subconscious than actual words," said Jordan, in front of his locker in the Birmingham Barons' Class AA clubhouse. "Keep doing what you're doing," he'd tell me.

"Keep trying to make it happen," he added. "Don't give a damn about the media. Then he'd say something funny — or recall something about when I was a boy, when we'd be in the backyard playing catch together like we did all the time. It takes your mind away from what's happening. Lifts the load a little bit."

The memory and the pain of his father's murder are still very much alive in Michael. It has been less than a year since James Jordan was murdered in July, at age 56, after having pulled his car to the side of the road one night to take a nap in North Carolina. The police say his killers were two young men who chose at random to rob him.

The days since then have often been wrenching for Jordan, who retired from his exalted state as the world's greatest basketball player and decided to pursue a career as a baseball player. And while he still says his baseball experiment is fun, these days lately for Jordan have not been strictly a fantasy camp. They have been difficult.

"For the last time years," he said, "I lived in a situation where I had the world at my feet. Now I'm just another

minor leaguer in the clubhouse here trying to make it to the major leagues."

He is a 31-year-old rookie right fielder for the Barons of the respectable Southern League, considered a "prospects league," and his debut has been less than auspicious.

"It's been embarrassing, it's been frustrating — it can make you mad," he said. "I don't remember the last time I had all those feelings at once. And I've been working too hard at this to make myself look like a fool."

In his first two games for the Barons, Air Jordan had hit little more than air, striking out five times in seven tries, along with a pop out and groundout.

On Sunday, he got his first two hits in a 7-1 loss to the Knoxville Smokies.

There has been much speculation about why Michael Jordan would walk away from basketball to subject himself to this new game, one he hasn't played since he was 17.

"It began as my father's idea," said Jordan, in the season of 1990 when the Bulls were seeking their first National Basketball Association title. "We had seen Bo Jackson and Deion Sanders try two sports and my father had said that he felt I could have made it in baseball, too."

"He said, 'You've got the skills,'" he added. "He thought I had proved everything I could in basketball, and that I might want to give baseball a shot. I told him, 'No, I haven't done everything. I haven't won a championship.' Then I won it, and we talked about baseball on occasion, and then we won two more championships. And then he was killed."

On the night last October when Jordan told Jerry Reinsdorf, the owner of both the White Sox and Bulls, that he was

going to quit basketball, they were sitting in Reinsdorf's box watching the White Sox-Toronto playoff game.

In December, Jordan was hitting in the basement batting cage at Comiskey Park. This spring, Reinsdorf allowed him to play with the White Sox in Florida, and then permitted him to try to realize his dream — and "the dream of my father, both our dreams" — by starting in Class AA ball.

"My father used to say that it's never too late to do anything you wanted to do," said Jordan. "And he said, 'You never know what you can accomplish until you try.'"

So Jordan is here trying, lifting the weights, shagging the fly balls, coming early to the park for extra batting practice, listening while another outfielder, Kerry Valrie, shows him how to throw from "the top," or over the head, and Jordan then practicing over and over by throwing an imaginary ball.

Saturday morning he sat among players who are as much as 12 years younger than he is. Black-and-silver uniforms hang in his locker with the No. 45, which he wore in high school, and not the No. 23 he made famous.

"It's been humbling," he said. And you could see that in his eyes. Gone is the confident sparkle they had at playoff time against Magic's Lakers, Bird's Celtics or Ewing's Knicks.

"I just lost confidence at the plate yesterday," he said about his three strikeouts on Saturday. "I didn't feel comfortable. I don't remember the last time I felt that way in an athletic situation. You come to realize that you're no better than the next guy in here."

The other day in Chicago, Eddie Einhorn, a partner with Reinsdorf in the White Sox, offered a theory on Jordan's baseball pursuit.

"This is the most amateur form of psychology, but I wonder if Michael in some way is not trying to do penance for the murder of his father," he said. "I wonder if he's not seeking to suffer — to be with his father in this way."

"Seems to be true, doesn't it?" said Jordan. "I mean, I have been suffering with the way I've been hitting — or not hitting."

He smiled wanly. "But I don't really want to subject myself to suffering. I can't see putting myself through suffering. I'd like to think I'm a strong enough person to deal with the consequences and the realities. That's not my personality. If I could do that — the suffering — to get my father back, I'd do it. But there's no way."

His eyes grew moist at the thought. "He was always such a positive force in my life," he said. "He used to talk about the time my Little League team was going for the World Series and we were playing in Georgia and there was an offer that if anyone hit a homer they'd get a free steak."

"I hadn't had a steak in quite a while, and my father said, 'If you hit a homer, I'll buy you another steak.' It was

a big ball field, and in the fourth inning I hit that sucker over the center-field fence with two on to tie the game, 3-3. We lost it anyway, 4-3, but I've never experienced anything in sports like hitting one out of the park."

The people in the White Sox organization see progress. "When I first saw him hitting in the winter," said Mike Lum, Chicago's minor league batting instructor, "it was all upper body. He was dead from the waist down. I think that's been a big change."

He has played adequately in the field, catching all the flies hit to him and playing a carom off the sign in right field with grace and making a strong throw to second base that held the runner to a single.

The players in the clubhouse, at first in awe of this personage, have come to treat him like a teammate.

"And I can learn from his work ethic," said Mike Robertson, a three-year minor league outfielder. "He's good to be around."

Jordan said he had planned to play all season, all 142 games, make all the bus rides — some as many as 10 and 12 hours long, and then see what happens. As for the NBA, the only reminder is a sticker on his locker that someone had put up. It reads: "Barkley for Gov."

Charles Barkley, an Alabama native, has spoken of his desire to run for governor of the state. "I told Charles," said Jordan, "that if that ever happened, you be like Huey Long in the movie 'Boyz n the City.' I told him to stick to TV commercials."

Jordan laughed, then grabbed some bats and went to the batting cage to try again, and again. After that, he trotted out to right field, a position his father's baseball hero Roberto Clemente played. Perhaps it is only coincidence.

Old-Home Week
As Braves Rout
New NL West Hosts

The Associated Press

One week into what was to be a season of change in baseball, one constant has remained: the Atlanta Braves still are beating up the National League West.

Under baseball's new alignment, the three-time defending NL West champions were shipped back East,

NL ROUNDUP

leaving four teams to figure out how the West is to be won. On its first seven-game trip through its old neighborhood, Atlanta was a perfect 7-0.

Rookie Tony Tarasco had a homer and two doubles after replacing injured David Justice in the fourth inning Sunday, sending the Braves to a 6-3 victory over the Los Angeles Dodgers, who are expected to battle with San Francisco for the NL West title.

"Sure, we're glad to have them out of this division," said Dodgers catcher Mike Piazza. "They've been very strong in this division in years past, but I don't think that changes anything. It's still a pretty good rivalry."

Now that they're a continent away in the standings, the Braves can not only beat their old NL West foes, but handicap their old division as well.

"By us getting out of this division, it might open up a door for them as far as the wild-card spot goes," said Atlanta starter Tom Glavine, who allowed three runs and eight hits in 5½ innings. "It's certainly not derogatory to them, but I would think that San Francisco would be the class of that division."

Justice left the game after fouling a pitch off his right ankle. Justice was sidelined last week after

spraining the same ankle in San Diego.

"It hit the spot that was most tender, from when I hurt it on opening day," said Justice, who is not expected to be available Tuesday in the home opener against the Giants.

"That was the most pain I ever felt at the plate. I couldn't move. It's swollen up bad now, and I'm going to get X-rays on it tomorrow."

Mark Wohlers relieved Glavine and got the victory, although he retired just one batter. Steve Bedrosian pitched two perfect innings, and Greg McMichael got three outs for his second save.

Piazza broke an 0-for-18 slide with a 460-foot homer in the third. Reds 7, Phillies 5: In Cincinnati, Bret Boone's sinking liner got by Lenny Dykstra for an error, allowing Roberto Kelly to score the go-ahead run in the sixth and giving the Reds a three-game sweep.

It was the first time Philadelphia was swept in 57 series since September 1992. Pete Schourek, claimed off waivers from the Mets on Thursday, got the victory in his first appearance for the Reds in relief of Erik Hanson.

Cardinals 2, Giants 1: In San Francisco, Raul Comier allowed three hits in seven innings and Bernard Gilkey homered. Comier was replaced by a runner in the eighth after he was hit in the left foot by Dave Burba's pitch.

Mike Perez allowed a leadoff single in the ninth, then got three outs for his second save. Bill Swift gave up two runs and five hits in six.

Astros 6, Mets 1: In Houston, Andujar Cedeno homered for the second consecutive game, had two doubles and three RBIs. Cedeno leads the NL in batting at 11-for-22 with eight RBIs.

Chris Donnels, who also ho-



The Yankees' third baseman, Randy Velarde, diving for the throw as Detroit's Travis Fryman slid safely into third in New York.

mered for the second straight game, had two hits and scored twice. Doug Drabek allowed one run and five hits in seven innings.

Mets third baseman Bobby Bonilla dislocated his left shoulder. The Mets said the injury wouldn't require surgery, but they didn't know how long Bonilla would be sidelined.

Martins 8, Padres 5: In San Diego, Gary Sheffield homered twice, tripled, doubled and drove in five runs against his former teammates. Sheffield entered the game with no homers, one double and one RBI. He quickly padded those totals with a two-run homer in the first, a two-run double in the third

and a solo homer in the fifth, all off Wally Whitehurst. He also tripled in the ninth and scored on a wild pitch by Gene Harris. Orestes De la Cruz followed with a homer off Harris.

In an earlier game, reported in some Monday editions of the Herald Tribune:

Expos 8, Cubs 2: In Montreal, Ken Hill allowed one run and four hits in seven innings. Hill, 0-3 against the Cubs last year, is 6-0 in April starts the past two seasons.

Marquis Grissom had three RBIs, while Mike Lansing had three hits and scored twice.

Blue Jays 12, Mariners 6: In Toronto, Joe Carter, the hero of last year's World Series, completed a big first week with a three-run

homer and five RBIs to lead Toronto's rout of Randy Johnson and visiting Seattle.

He had four homers and 12 RBIs in the season's first week. On Sunday, Carter homered in the first inning, then added a sacrifice fly in the second and an RBI single in the third. He left in the sixth inning after bruising his left knee.

Johnson, who threw seven no-hit innings in Seattle's season opener before being tagged for a career-high 11 runs — a club record. Johnson, who had won eight consecutive decisions, gave up eight hits in 2½ innings and walked six. Dave Stewart allowed four runs and eight hits in seven innings.

Rangers 7, Orioles 3: Jose Canseco ended a 1-for-14 slump with three hits, including a homer, as Texas won in Baltimore.

Jay Howell pitched 1½ scoreless innings in relief, and Tom Henke pitched a perfect ninth for his second save. Arthur Rhodes allowed consecutive sacrifice flies to Clark and Juan Gonzalez, and Canseco's homer.

Tigers 8, Yankees 3: Cecil Fielder snapped a 2-for-23 slump with a pair of home runs, including a 475-foot drive in the ninth, and Lou Whitaker drove in his 1,000th career run in New York.

Angels 4, Brewers 1: Brian Anderson won his first major-league decision by allowing one run and five hits in 8½ innings, and Dwight Smith and Chad Curtis drove in two runs for California in Milwaukee.

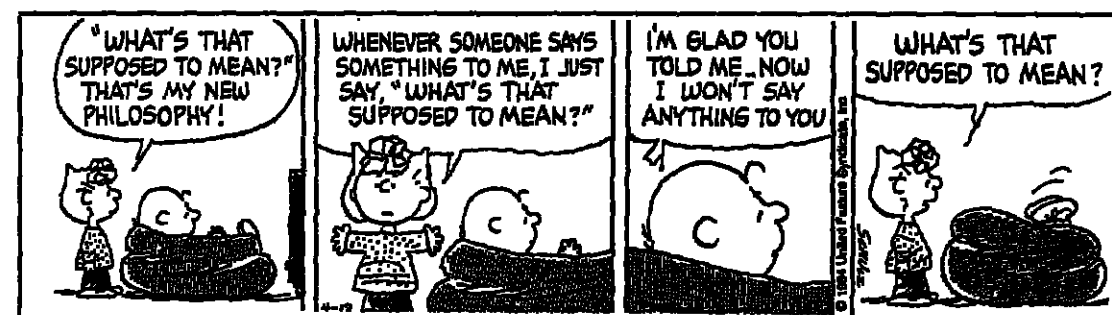
Anderson, taken in the first round of the 1993 draft, was called up from Class AAA Vancouver on Saturday.

White Sox 8, Red Sox 0: Alex Fernandez pitched a six-hitter — all singles — struck out six and walked one against Boston at Comiskey Park for his first shutout since last April 13.

DENNIS THE MENACE



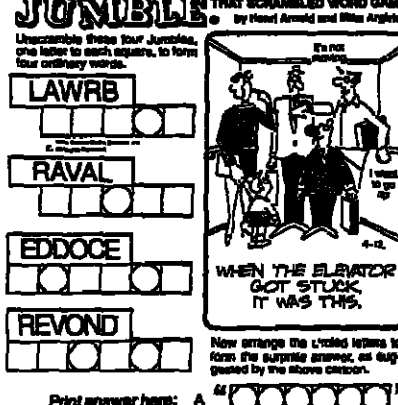
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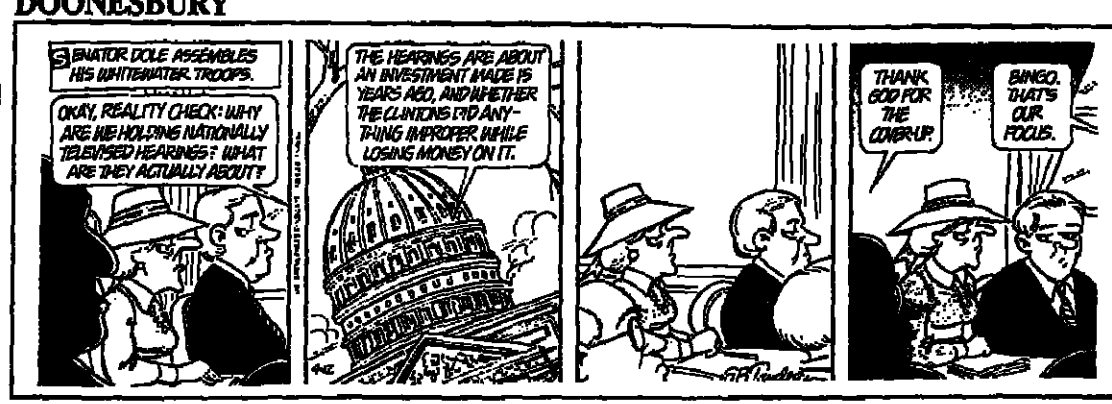
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SPORTS

With a Long, Masterful Putt, Olazábal Conquers Augusta and Lehman

Wise Words From Seve:
'Be Patient. You'll Win.'

By Thomas Boswell

Washington Post Service

Augusta, Georgia — When José María Olazábal got to Augusta National on Sunday for the final round of the Masters, he found a Seve Ballesteros.

"Be patient. You will win," wrote the two-time Masters champion, who has guided every step of Olazábal's career like an older brother. "Wait for the pressure to get to the others. You are the best golfer in the world. Seve."

Olazábal, who began the day one shot behind Tom Lehman, was indeed patient. He did not tie for the lead until the eighth hole, or take the lead alone until Amen Corner. As instructed, he waited for the pressure to get to the others. Larry Mize cracked with three bogeys on the last seven holes.

Finally, Olazábal won with a daring, lucky eagle at the 15th that ultimately slew Lehman by two shots.

Seve may even be right on his final point, too. At 28, with 18 victories and a green jacket now in his closet, Olazábal may indeed evolve into the best in the world some day.

Ballesteros knows his epoch is probably past. After 20 pro years, his nerves and swing seem frayed. He owns every recovery shot on earth. Unfortunately, he seems to need them all in every round. Now he seems content to pass the mantle of Spanish and European golf to Olazábal.

All day, Lehman struck the ball superbly. And all day he tried too hard to make his putts and, as every golfer knows, missed them all by a fraction.

AS LEHMAN burned the cups at the 15th, 16th and 17th holes — missing putts of 15, 5 and 15 feet that could have brought him an eagle and two birdies — Olazábal could feel the Masters embracing him. After he missed at the 15th, I thought, "Keep cool. Two shots is not much," he said.

"After the 16th, I thought, 'This is the best chance to win that you are going to have.' The Spaniard added, "At the 17th, he missed but I made bogey. I thought, 'I better be careful now.'"

Finally, Lehman bogeyed the 18th. Considering that the hole was playing extremely short, downward and with a front tier pin placement, Lehman made a perfectly reasonable decision to hit a 1-iron off the tee. Knocking it into a fairway bunker was the mistake.

When Lehman missed his long par putt, Olazábal knew his final eight-foot par putt was a formality.

Perhaps the only person in American golf who can view this Masters as a kind of moral victory is Lehman, who distinguished himself in defeat. But a lot of other Americans pros should be groggy. Aren't they getting a little tired of getting their clocks cleaned here?

Asked what separates the Europeans from the Americans on this course, Olazábal said, "Imagination." Don't you love it when somebody can tell you why he's better than you in one word? And then make it stick?

So, who's left? Now that Olazábal has joined Nick Faldo, Bernhard Langer, Ian Woosnam, Sandy Lyle and Ballesteros as a Masters champion, is there anybody left in Europe with a scratch handicap who doesn't have a green jacket?

When April rolls around next year, America shouldn't hold its breath. Seve hasn't left any love letters yet for Ernie Els or Colin Montgomerie. Who knows? José María may even decide to eliminate his Seve Encyclical and use it a couple of more times.



José María Olazábal of Spain, with Bernhard Langer of Germany, last year's winner, became the sixth foreign victor in seven years.

For Lehman, No Regrets

Reuters

AUGUSTA, Georgia — Last year, Tom Lehman felt he shied away from an opportunity, but he harbors no such doubts after his runner-up finish in the Masters on Sunday.

"Choking is when you don't go for it," said Lehman, 35, who finished two shots short of José María Olazábal. "I feel I went for it." Lehman fired a 31 on the front nine last year on Sunday to move within two shots of the eventual winner, Bernhard Langer. He played conservatively on the back nine and finished tied for third.

The American said he was satisfied with his effort this time. "I led the Masters for three rounds and went out on Sunday and played well," he said. "Shooting 72 on a difficult golf course when you're leading the tournament is nothing to be ashamed of."

Lehman, however, knows his score could have been a lot better. Narrowly missed putts on three successive holes from the 15th kept him from catching the Spaniard down the stretch.

Lehman, whose three misses all hung tantalizingly close to the cup, was particularly stung by his four-foot birdie putt at the par-three 16th that curled just inside the hole.

Final Scores at the Masters

Final scores of the tournament, played on the 4,252-yard (4,253-meter), par-72 course in Augusta, Georgia (a=afternoon):
José María Olazábal 74-70-75-75-294
Tom Lehman 76-70-69-75-291
Bernhard Langer 74-75-75-75-293
Jeff Sluman 74-75-75-75-293
Curtis Strange 74-75-75-75-294
Scott Simpson 74-75-75-75-294
Vijay Singh 75-75-75-75-295
Crisp Parry 75-75-75-75-295
Lee Janzen 75-75-75-75-295
Nick Faldo 76-75-75-75-296
Jim McNealey 75-75-75-75-296
Tom Watson 75-75-75-75-296
Loren Roberts 75-75-75-75-296
Corey Pavin 75-75-75-75-296
Ernie Els 74-75-75-75-297
John Huston 75-75-75-75-297
Ian Baker-Finch 71-71-71-71-287
Roy Floyd 74-74-74-74-287
Ben Crenshaw 74-74-74-74-287
Tommy Alcott 74-74-74-74-287
Mark O'Meara 75-75-75-75-291
Fred Funk 75-75-75-75-292
Chile Beck 71-71-71-71-287
Seve Ballesteros 76-75-75-75-292
Ben Crenshaw 74-74-74-74-287
Hale Irwin 74-74-74-74-287
Bill Glasson 75-75-75-75-292
Lanny Wadkins 75-75-75-75-292
David Duval 75-75-75-75-292
Greg Norman 76-75-75-75-292

French Women's Bike Tour Goes Racy to Peddle Its Wares

By Samuel Abt

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Charlie Commando modeled the yellow jersey and Monika Troika the red jersey and by the way the other way around. It was difficult to tell at the presentation of the Tour Cycliste Féminin on Monday, since both women wore silver wigs and were anatomically identical — tall and muscular, as dancers are at the Crazy Horse night club.

In France, sex sells soap, coffee and

automobiles, among other sexier objects. Now sex has helped sell a bicycle race: The Crazy Horse was packed for the session with Miss Commando, Miss Troika and four colleagues. There were even some people sitting on the plush red banquettes, listening to relentlessly bouncy music and sipping Champagne, who care about bicycle racing.

But women's bicycle racing is a hard sell — the highlights film of last year's Women's Tour was remarkable for the sparse crowds that watched the race — and thus the choice of a launching pad.

This will be the third edition of the Tour, which is considered to be the major multi-day race on an uncrowded schedule for women. Covering 1,295 kilometers (800 miles), it begins July 24 on the Ile de Groix, off the coast of western France in Brittany, and ends Aug. 6 atop Alpe d'Huez.

Along the way to the Alps, the Women's Tour will pass through the Pyrenees, climbing the monstrous Tourmalet, a peak that

also appears in the men's race. Nineteen teams from 22 countries are scheduled to participate.

France will field three teams, each led by a fine rider who has not always been willing to work for the other two. France A will be headed by Catherine Marsal, France B by Marion Clignet and France Sprint Form by Jeannie Longo.

The race's star rider, leading the Dutch team, will again be Leontien Van Moorsel, who won the first two editions of the Women's Tour — by 9 seconds over Longo in 1992 and by a crushing 8 minutes, 29 seconds over Clignet last year.

Teams are also expected from Canada, China, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, Scandinavia, Slovakia, Ukraine and the United States, among other countries.

At the presentation, Van Moorsel promised to attack from the start of the race and not wait for the major climbs to leave her opponents behind. Miss Commando — or was it Miss Troika? — looked impressed.

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SCOREBOARD

BASEBALL

Major League Standings

AMERICAN LEAGUE

East Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Toronto	1	2	.333	—
Boston	2	1	.667	—
Baltimore	3	0	1.000	1 1/2
New York	2	2	.500	1 1/2
Detroit	1	3	.250	3 1/2

Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cleveland	3	2	.600	—
Minnesota	2	2	.500	—
Chicago	1	3	.250	2 1/2
Kansas City	1	3	.250	2 1/2
Minnesota	1	3	.250	2 1/2

West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
California	1	2	.333	—
Oakland	2	1	.667	—
Texas	2	2	.500	1 1/2
Seattle	1	3	.250	2 1/2

NATIONAL LEAGUE

East Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	3	2	.600	—
New York	2	2	.500	—
Florida	2	2	.500	—
Montreal	1	3	.250	2 1/2
Philadelphia	1	3	.250	2 1/2

Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cincinnati	4	1	.800	—
St. Louis	3	2	.600	—
Houston	3	2	.600	—
Chicago	2	3	.400	1 1/2
Pittsburgh	1	4	.200	3 1/2

West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
San Francisco	4	2	.667	—
Los Angeles	3	2	.600	—
Colorado	1	3	.250	2 1/2
San Diego	1	4	.200	3 1/2

Sunday's Line Scores

AMERICAN LEAGUE

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Toronto	0	1	.000	—
Boston	1	0	1.000	—
Baltimore	1	0	1.000	—
New York	1	0	1.000	—
Detroit	1	0	1.000	—

Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cleveland	1	0	1.000	—
Minnesota	1	0	1.000	—
Chicago	1	0	1.000	—
Kansas City	1	0	1.000	—
Minnesota	1	0	1.000	—

West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
California	1	0	1.000	—
Oakland	1	0	1.000	—
Texas	1	0	1.000	—
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NATIONAL LEAGUE

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Detroit	1	0	1.000	—

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Minnesota	1	0	1.000	—
Chicago	1	0	1.000	—
Kansas City	1	0	1.000	—
Minnesota	1	0	1.000	—

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Minnesota	1	0	1.000	—

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Pittsburgh	1	4	.200	3 1/2

West Division

ART BUCHWALD

The Straitjacket Vote

WASHINGTON — The Republican senatorial primary race in Virginia is getting dirtier. Candidate Jim Miller recently revealed that Ollie North had received psychiatric treatment. Dammed if North's people didn't issue a statement that Miller had also visited a psychiatrist.

This is not the first time that the issue of psychotherapy was a plus or minus for a candidate seeking public office. When Tom Eagleton was George McGovern's vice presidential running mate, he was forced to quit the race because it turned out that he had had shock treatments. This information was so serious that people started asking if he could be trusted to throw out a baseball at Busch Stadium.

Buchwald

The most disturbing part of the Virginia campaign is that both candidates used the psychiatric information about the other as if they were exposing police records on a serial killer. It set back the understanding of mental health by 100 years.

The Virginia fight raises an important issue — can Virginians af-

ford a senator who has been treated for a mental illness as opposed to one who hasn't?

Since the Eagleton controversy much has been learned about the mental condition of politicians. In a recently published paper, Dr. Karen Blake stated that anyone who runs for public office can now be considered certifiable and even legally committed.

Dr. Blake asserted, "A person who chooses to have his whole life opened up to the press, begs for money, allows himself to be pelted with tomatoes by his constituents and sucks up to the most despicable leaders of the community cannot distinguish right from wrong."

I called Dr. Blake, and she told me that most elected officials suffer from paranoia, depression and dry mouth. They also develop heads twice as large as the average constituent.

The question then arises, should they go to a psychiatrist at the risk of losing an election?

According to Dr. Blake, "Many politicians are better off living in a dream world and losing touch with reality. Senator X is a good example. He sees himself as a ladies' man and, because he is a representative of the people, he thinks that he can punch every woman in the office. This is not sane behavior, but since it makes the senator happy he refuses to ask for help. When the voters find out that a politician has consulted a shrink, they just won't trust him with a trillion-dollar budget."

Ex-Warlord Sells Chinese Artworks

TAIPEI — The Chinese art collection of the former warlord Chang Hsueh-liang, who kidnapped the Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek and spent more than 30 years under house arrest, has been auctioned at Sotheby's for just over \$5 million.

The collection consisted of more than 700 works, including traditional ink and wash paintings, scrolls, paintings and works of calligraphy from the 12th century.

Chang, now in his 90s, kidnapped Chiang in 1936 to force him into an alliance with the Communists against the Japanese. Chiang eventually agreed to an alliance, but Chang was arrested.

In his best-selling book "Political Phobias and Lost Causes," Dr. Thomas Cooke says that some folks who run for public office would like medical help when they are about three weeks into the primaries, but can't get it because their health insurance does not cover psychiatric care for political candidates. The reason is that too many people running for office are "out to lunch," and the insurance companies cannot possibly cover them.

Dr. Cooke also poses the question, "If a person gets a clean bill of health from the Menninger Clinic, is he entitled to matching campaign funds from Madison Savings and Loan in Little Rock?"

Cobain: Chronicle of a Death Foretold

By Jon Pareles

New York Times Staff

NEW YORK — Kurt Cobain, a suicide at the age of 27, won't be helped by the inevitable hindsight. Rumors are swirling that the last straw may have been trouble between Cobain and his wife, Courtney Love, or worries about their child, Frances Bean Cobain. Yet in retrospect, everyone could have seen it coming.

The songs Cobain wrote with Nirvana, heard by millions of fans, testified to rage and confusion, to ambivalence and loneliness, to a torment beyond relief.

All the turmoil was in the way his voice suddenly shifted from a matter-of-fact drawl to an accusatory howl, and in the way his guitar parts jumped from riff to stubborn single notes to squeals of feedback, as if determined to grate. And it was in the words he wrote and sang.

After his death, people were comparing Cobain to John Lennon; in fact, he shared Lennon's combination of pop craftsmanship and primal self-expression. But Lennon didn't kill himself, and none of the other 1960s rock martyrs — Jim Morrison, Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin — is an exact analogy, either. Where each of those troubled souls saw a sense of possibility, Cobain was always facing dead ends.

His life was investigated by sensation-seeking media, who found plenty of grit in his history of trashed dressing rooms, drug use and domestic squabbles. He was never one to accentuate the positive. "I'd rather be dead than cool," Cobain declared in "Stay Away" on "Nevermind," the 1991 album that sold 10 million copies worldwide and made him more famous than he ever expected to be.

A song called "I Hate Myself and Want to Die" was left off last year's "In Utero" album; it appeared on "The Beavis and Butt-head Experience" compilation. "Look on the bright side is suicide," he spat out in "Milk It." "What is wrong with me?" he demanded in "Radio Friendly Unit Shifter."

Nirvana wasn't alone in singing about despair and death. Its fellow Seattle grunge bands, like Soundgarden, Pearl Jam and Alice in Chains, also ponder mortality and self-destruction. And in current styles from gangster rap to industrial rock, visions of death are omnipresent.

In Cobain's songs, he seemed to be repulsed by everything: himself, love, companionship, hope, success, the human body itself. "Spring is here again / reproductive glands," he sang in "In Bloom."

His music wasn't only the sound of someone trying to lash out against the stupidity he saw around him; he wanted to jump out of his own skin. In Nirvana's volatile music, constantly shredding any hints of consolation, fans heard something real.



Nirvana: Kurt Cobain (right) with Krist Novoselic (left) and Dave Grohl.

Nirvana was the band that brought punk rock kicking and screaming into the mass market. The underground had been active for more than a decade, creating a circuit for bands that didn't aim to be commercial blockbusters; they played at local clubs, recorded for independent labels and were heard on college radio stations.

Then along came "Nevermind," which made clear that with a little attention to melodies and production, punk's vociferous incoherence could speak to rock's wider public. Nirvana had the right timing and an inspired songwriter. Collaborating with Krist Novoselic on bass and Dave Grohl on drums, Cobain pulled together the brute force of heavy metal, the raw noise of punk rock and a tenderness that belied his rage.

The music made his slurred, fractured lyrics sound like manifestos, though they were ones that listeners had to decipher on their own, even when the words were printed. The irony some of us heard in lyrics like

"Load up on guns, and bring your friends" — the opening lines of "Smells Like Teen Spirit," Nirvana's world-beating hit single — now seems to be wishful thinking. Cobain had the guns, and he used a shotgun to kill himself Friday.

Cobain didn't intend to capitalize on punk. In his defensive liner notes to "Incesticide," an album of odds and ends released in 1992 (between "Nevermind" and its 1993 sequel, "In Utero"), he wrote, "I don't feel the least bit guilty for commercially exploiting a completely exhausted rock youth culture because, at this point in rock history, punk rock (while still sacred to some) is, to me, dead and gone." But for once, no one should have believed him.

Cobain told interviewers that punk rock saved his life when he was an unathletic, underachieving, arty and bookish misfit in the logging town of Aberdeen, Washington. Punk offered an outlet for frustration and created a kind of community of outcasts; it provided a refuge, one Cobain

compared to the Buddhist concept of nirvana. And to its true devotees, punk is a culture of refusal, turning away in disgust from a mainstream that fawns over material success and chases thoughtless pleasure.

Punk is haunted by death and the possibility of self-destruction. That fascination is symbolized in ripped clothes and pierced bodies, and it was made mythic in the quick rise and pointless death of the Sex Pistols' bassist, Sid Vicious. After all, survival means compromise.

In making "Nevermind," Nirvana realized it was moving toward the commercial sphere; the album cover shows a baby reaching for a hook baited with a dollar bill. But selling the expected 100,000 copies would only have saturated the alternative-rock market, reaching people who would presumably understand.

Selling millions meant that Cobain was serenading the kinds of people who tormented him through adolescence. All of a sudden, he was cool.

He used his newfound influence to get his favorite obscure bands heard as opening acts and on festival bills. He tried to subvert the mass media that grudgingly welcomed him; on "Saturday Night Live," he kissed Novoselic on the lips, a gesture to spite homophobia.

He also tried to shrug off his peculiar role; the first line he sings on "In Utero" is "Teenage angst has paid off well." Even if Nirvana had not been the great band it was, it would be important for all the doors it opened, for the ways it reminded a broad public that the music on the fringes could make as much of a difference as the most heavily promoted corporate product. But Cobain's role gnawed at him; for all that his popularity helped the music he loved, it trapped him.

The Crime of Leaving

Tearful and profane, Cobain's wife, Courtney Love, read from his suicide note in a recording played for thousands of young people gathered at a candlelight vigil in Seattle on Sunday to mourn the grunge rocker. The Associated Press reported. Love and dozens of others, including members of Nirvana and Love's band, Hole, attended a private memorial service Sunday night at a church a few blocks from where the vigil was being held.

"I haven't felt the emotional release for so many years. I felt guilty for so many years," Love read on the tape as tears flowed freely in the crowd. "The fact is I can't fool you, any one of you. The worst crime is leaving it."

Love interrupted her narrative to add, in a voice thick with tears, "No, the worst crime is leaving."

PEOPLE

A Big Hit for the IRS: \$95,000 in Back Taxes

Percy Sledge, whose big hit was the song "When a Man Loves a Woman" in the '60s, has pleaded guilty to cheating the U.S. government out of more than \$95,000 in taxes from performances in the late 1980s. The 53-year-old singer told a U.S. District Court judge, "I knew I owed more. I'm glad it's all behind us now. It's something that didn't need to happen." It's not quite all behind him: He could be sentenced to up to 15 years in prison and fined \$750,000.

Queen Elizabeth II has been topped from her position in the Sunday Times table of Britain's richest people by Swedish-born brothers. The Times of London reported Monday that the table compiled by its sister paper shows Gad and Hans Ransing with a combined fortune of \$5.2 billion (\$7.65 billion) against \$5 billion for the queen. The brothers made their money in milk cartons, notably the Tetra Pak.

A woman dressed as Barney was attacked in Worcester, Massachusetts, by a college student acting on a dare who said he hated the cartoon character. "We had a lot of witnesses," said Deborah McKoy, who suffered a neck injury. "One little boy said, 'I'm going home to get my gun, Barney, and I'm going to shoot him.'" Derrick McElhannon, a student at Worcester State College, was charged with assault and battery. It's better than being shot.

The city of Shenyang in north-east China says it has found the site of Seiji Ozawa's birth. Ozawa, the music director of the Boston Symphony orchestra, was born in 1935 in the capital of Liaoning Province, where his father was a dentist during the Japanese occupation. Kin-hua says Ozawa came to the city recently with a map drawn by his mother, Sakura, 86, to find the house. Shenyang officials say the house at 209 Democracy Road, now a hospital office, will henceforth bear a plaque inscribed: "Birthplace of world-famous conductor Seiji Ozawa."

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED
Appears on Pages 4 & 5

WEATHER

Forecast for Wednesday through Friday, as provided by Accu-Weather.

Europe	Today	High	Low	Temp	Wind	W
Algeria	22/71	10/50	21/70	13/55	pc	
Amsterdam	11/52	4/28	8/48	4/28	sh	
Antwerp	24/75	6/45	27/80	10/50	pc	
Athens	28/79	14/57	32/81	17/52	pc	
Berlin	16/51	8/46	17/52	10/50	pc	
Birmingham	16/51	8/46	17/52	10/50	pc	
Bombay	34/93	24/75	38/100	24/75	pc	
Buenos Aires	12/53	2/28	9/48	2/28	pc	
Bucharest	12/53	2/28	9/48	2/28	pc	
Buenos Aires	12/53	2/28	9/48	2/28	pc	
Cairo	24/75	6/45	27/80	10/50	pc	
Canton	24/75	6/45	27/80	10/50	pc	
Chengdu	24/75	6/45	27/80	10/50	pc	
Colon	24/75	6/45	27/80	10/50	pc	
Guangzhou	24/75	6/45	27/80	10/50	pc	
Hankow	24/75	6/45	27/80	10/50	pc	
Hong Kong	24/75	6/45	27/80	10/50	pc	
Kobe	24/75	6/45	27/80	10/50	pc	
London	11/52	4/28	8/48	4/28	sh	
Madrid	12/53	2/28	9/48	2/28	pc	
Moscow	12/53	2/28	9/48	2/28	pc	
Mumbai	34/93	24/75	38/100	24/75	pc	
Nairobi	12/53	2/28	9/48	2/28	pc	
Paris	11/52	4/28	8/48	4/28	sh	
Perth	16/51	8/46	17/52	10/50	pc	
Prague	12/53	2/28	9/48	2/28	pc	
Rangoon	24/75	6/45	27/80	10/50	pc	
Rome	12/53	2/28	9/48	2/28	pc	
Sao Paulo	12/53	2/28	9/48	2/28	pc	
Seoul	12/53	2/28	9/48	2/28	pc	
Shanghai	24/75	6/45	27/80	10/50	pc	
Singapore	24/75	6/45	27/80	10/50	pc	
Taipei	24/75	6/45	27/80	10/50	pc	
Tokyo	24/75	6/45	27/80	10/50	pc	
Yokohama	24/75	6/45	27/80	10/50	pc	



Legend: Heavy Rain, Moderate Rain, Light Rain, Drizzle, Fog, Clouds, Partly Cloudy, Sunny, Windy, Snow, Ice.

North America: Periods of rain and thunderstorms will be common from Texas to Missouri and Chicago later this week. East Coast cities such as Washington and Philadelphia will have mild weather and just a few showers. Atlanta to Orlando will be sunny and warm later this week.

Europe: Rain over Poland Wednesday will slowly spread northward into the Baltic Countries Thursday and Friday. A little snow and sleet may mix with the rain near the Baltic Sea. London and Paris will have dry, seasonable weather. Much-needed rains may reach Spain and Portugal Thursday.

Asia: A few showers over Japan Wednesday will give way to dry, cooler weather later in the week. China will have seasonable weather later this week. Singapore will have scattered rains. Bangkok through Manila will be warm later this week. Singapore will have scattered rains.

Africa: A few showers over South Africa Wednesday will give way to dry, cooler weather later in the week. South Africa will have seasonable weather later this week. South Africa will have scattered rains.

Latin America: A few showers over Brazil Wednesday will give way to dry, cooler weather later in the week. Brazil will have seasonable weather later this week. Brazil will have scattered rains.

Oceania: A few showers over Australia Wednesday will give way to dry, cooler weather later in the week. Australia will have seasonable weather later this week. Australia will have scattered rains.

Legend: Heavy Rain, Moderate Rain, Light Rain, Drizzle, Fog, Clouds, Partly Cloudy, Sunny, Windy, Snow, Ice.

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Legend: Heavy Rain, Moderate Rain, Light Rain, Drizzle, Fog, Clouds, Partly Cloudy, Sunny, Windy, Snow, Ice.

CROSSWORD

ACROSS

1 Swiss city on the Rhine

6 "Jake's Thing" author

10 Nice shindig

14 Allan (Robin Hood cohort)

15 Carry on

16 "Fire" (Springsteen hit)

17 Paris site

18 "partridge in a..."

20 Runway, of a sort

24 Book-lined rooms

25 London site

27 Cartoonist

28 Not on land

29 Upset-minded

30 Positions

31 Big 10's State

32 Letter end, of Moscow site

33 Derby

34 Ended

35 Off

36 River to the North Sea

37 Corn bread

38 Having an irregular edge

DOWN

1 With — breath

2 One of the Antares

3 Dresden

4 Slip by

5 — majesty

6 Mr. Parsifal

7 See cow

8 Kipling story locale

9 Legendary Packers QB

10 Surgical knife

11 Love, Spanish-style

12 Italian town, site of a 1796 Napoleon victory

13 Fastener

14 N.F.L. stand-out

15 Not a main route

16 Noddi of silents

17 1984 Four Seasons hit

18 "n' Andy"

19 Trevi Fountain coin

20 Classic sports car

21 Turn sharply

22 Somewhat, in music

23 Loss

24 High overhead?

25 Money for Moscow

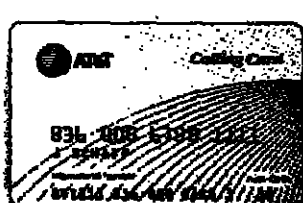
26 "Cheers" role

27 Harold of politics

Solution to Puzzle of April 11

LAPSE WAS SATE
ELIQUA ARP MERRY
BELLIC GUARANTEE
GENERIC TRISEES
GNO IMAGIO
TOLLET GEOMORPHIC
STALIER VICTORIES
TOLETT GEOMORPHIC
ENORM ORE BLATE
ATO ARABIS TITER
MONALISA OFFEND
VENIL NAE
ASSESS INERTIA
SPEAKEASY RIDGE
TANYA DTS AMER
ANTE EBE READS

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COUNTRY	ACCESS NUMBER	COUNTRY	ACCESS NUMBER	COUNTRY	ACCESS NUMBER
ASIA/PACIFIC					
Australia	0014-881-011	Ireland	1-800-550-000	Colombia	980-11-0010
China/PRC	10811	Italy	172-1011	Costa Rica	114
China/HK	018-672	Liechtenstein	195-00-11	Cuba	119
Hong Kong	806-1111	Lithuania	8-196	El Salvador	190
India	000-117	Luxembourg	0-800-0111	Guatemala	190
Indonesia	001-807-10	Malta	080-800-110	Guyana	165
Japan	009-111	Mexico	19-0011	Honduras	129
Korea	009-11	Netherlands	06-022-9111	Mexico (C.A.A.)	95-800-462-4240
Malaysia	800-0011	Norway	800-190-11	Nicaragua (Managua)	374
New Zealand	000-911	Poland	0-010-480-0111	Panama	109
Philippines	105-11	Portugal	00817-1-288	Paraguay	191
Singapore	235-2872	Romania	01-800-4288	Suriname	156
Sri Lanka	800-011-111	Russia (Moscow)	155-5043	Uruguay	00-0410
Taiwan	0080-16288-6	Slovakia	00-430-00101	Venezuela	80-011-120
Thailand	0019-991-1111	Spain	900-99-00-11	CARIBBEAN	
EUROPE		Sweden	020-795-611	Bahamas	1-800-872-2881
Austria	8-14111	Switzerland	155-00-11	Bermuda	1-800-872-2881
Belgium	022-905-011	U.K.	090-89-0011	British V.I.	1-800-872-2881
Denmark	078-11-0010	MIDDLE EAST		Cayman Islands	1-800-872-2881
France	00-1800-0010	Bahrain	800-001	Grenada	1-800-872-2881
Germany	99-38-0011	Cyprus	080-00101	Haiti	001-800-872-2881
Greece	00-420-00101	Egypt	177-100-2777	Jamaica	001-800-872-2881
Ireland	00-420-00101	Israel	800-288	Neth. Antil.	001-800-